UNITED
NATIONS

A

General Assembly

Distr.
GENERAL

A/48/264
20 July 1993
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: ARABIC/CHINESE/ENGLISH/
FRENCH/RUSSIAN/SPANISH

Forty-eighth session
Item 33 of the preliminary list*

# QUESTION OF EQUITABLE REPRESENTATION ON AND INCREASE IN THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

## Report of the Secretary-General

## CONTENTS

Page

I. INTRODUCTION .......... 4

II. REPLIES RECEIVED FROM MEMBER STATES .......... 4

Antigua and Barbuda .......... 4

Argentina .......... 6

Australia .......... 8

Bahamas** .......... 11

Belgium .......... 11

Brazil .......... 13

Cambodia .......... 14

Chile .......... 15

---

* A/48/50.

** Transmitted by the Permanent Representative of the Bahamas in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of Member States of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM).

CONTENTS (continued)

Page

China .......... 18

Colombia .......... 19

Costa Rica .......... 24

Croatia .......... 26

Cuba .......... 29

Democratic People's Republic of Korea .......... 33

Denmark .......... 34

Ecuador .......... 35

Fiji .......... 37

Finland .......... 38

France .......... 40

Gabon .......... 42

Germany .......... 43

Guatemala .......... 44

Honduras .......... 46

India .......... 46

Ireland .......... 49

Italy .......... 51

Japan .......... 52

Madagascar .......... 55

Malaysia .......... 55

Mauritius .......... 60

Mexico .......... 62

Nepal .......... 65

Netherlands .......... 66

/...

CONTENTS (continued)

Page

New Zealand .................................................. 68

Nigeria .................................................. 70

Norway .................................................. 72

Pakistan .................................................. 73

Panama .................................................. 75

Paraguay .................................................. 78

Peru .................................................. 79

Philippines .................................................. 81

Russian Federation .................................................. 82

Spain .................................................. 83

Suriname .................................................. 86

Syrian Arab Republic .................................................. 86

Turkey .................................................. 87

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland ............ 90

United States of America .................................................. 91

Viet Nam .................................................. 92

Yugoslavia .................................................. 93

/...

## I. INTRODUCTION

1. On 11 December 1992, the General Assembly adopted resolution 47/62, entitled "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council". The operative part of the resolution reads as follows:

> "The General Assembly,
>
> ...
>
> "1. Requests the Secretary-General to invite Member States to submit, not later than 30 June 1993, written comments on a possible review of the membership of the Security Council;
>
> "2. Also requests the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session, for its consideration, a report containing comments made by Member States on the subject;
>
> "3. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its forty-eighth session the item entitled 'Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council'."

2. In accordance with the request in paragraph 1 of resolution 47/62, the Secretary-General, by a note verbale dated 5 March 1993, invited Member States to submit written comments.

3. The present report reproduces the replies that had been received as at 9 July 1993, pursuant to paragraph 2 of the resolution. Any further replies will be reproduced in addenda to this report.

## II. REPLIES RECEIVED FROM MEMBER STATES

### ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA

[Original: English]

[29 June 1993]

Comments

1. The establishment of the United Nations in 1945 marked a new beginning in the affairs of the global community. Since its founding, the years have been marked by constant and fundamental change. Our institution has witnessed a vast increase in both its membership and the array of concerns assigned to it; yet, within the United Nations, no other body has generated as much excitement and challenge as the Security Council.

2. Under Article 24 of the United Nations Charter, the Security Council is entrusted with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Security Council, true to its mandate, has played a

very important role in the maintenance of international peace and security. It must be applauded. With the large increase in the membership of the United Nations has come an eruption of world conflicts and disputes; the Security Council has been called upon to act to resolve many of these conflicts.

3. The Security Council thus acts on behalf of the world community, though its mandate is severely restricted by the Charter. In many respects, it would not be too far-fetched to view the Council as a democratic, international institution which embodies the wishes of the community of nations. Democracy implies representation; yet, to have only 15 States on the Security Council gives rise to a claim of underrepresentation of the world on whose behalf the Council acts.

4. The Government of Antigua and Barbuda is of the view that the Security Council must increase its permanent and rotating membership in order to act fairly on behalf of the increased membership of the United Nations. An increment in its membership will enhance the Council's capabilities to reflect better the concerns of all countries of the world. An increase would also give balance to the overall policy thrust of the United Nations. There is a great and growing responsibility weighing upon the Security Council in this decade and beyond; in order to strengthen its will and its legitimacy, Council membership must be increased.

5. In 1945 the Security Council had 11 members; the number was adequate taking into account the size of the membership of the United Nations at that time. Today, the United Nations has grown to 183 members. Five permanent and 10 rotating members for the Security Council is inadequate. The Government of Antigua and Barbuda proposes eight permanent and 17 rotating members. Such a number would be proper and manageable, and would fairly reflect the world body's numerical growth.

6. The question of the composition of the Security Council is also very important. Since the current five permanent members are industrial Powers, and the majority of these are European, the nations of the developing world outside of Europe have lesser representation on the Council. They none the less constitute a larger percentage of the total membership of the world body and of the world's population. In the eyes of the developing world, there is a justifiable prima facie case for concluding that the Security Council is not representative. A situation of resentment and discontent could develop which would undermine the support for the Council's actions. Increased membership, to include at least four developing and four industrialized nations as permanent members, and 12 developing and five industrialized nations on the rotating membership of the Security Council, is a political and practical necessity which will go a long way in helping the Council to maintain world peace and security.

7. The Government of Antigua and Barbuda would therefore conclude that the Security Council membership should be enlarged on the basis of equitable geographical distribution, taking into account the increase in membership of the United Nations and the size of the regional groups which comprise that membership.

8. The composition could be as follows:

(a) African States. The Group of African States totals 54 members; one permanent member and six rotating members would equitably represent this very large group. (1 + 6)

(b) Asian States. The Group of Asian States has 44 members; one additional permanent member and three rotating members would serve to represent this group equitably. (2 + 3)

(c) Eastern European States. The Eastern European States Group has 26 members. The Russian Federation has permanent representation on the Council. Consideration should be given to adding one rotating member to the Council for a total of three. (1 + 2)

(d) Latin America and Caribbean States. the Latin American and Caribbean Group is comprised of 34 Member States and none are permanent members of the Security Council. Consideration should be given to adding one permanent member and having three rotating members. (1 + 3)

(e) Western European States. The Western European and Other States Group has 26 members. Of these 26 States, three have permanent membership on the Council. However, consideration should be given to one additional member on a rotating basis. (3 + 3)

9. With eight permanent and 17 rotating members, for a total of 25 members, the equitable geographical balance within the Security Council would better reflect the realities of the modern era.

## ARGENTINA

[Original: Spanish]

[23 June 1993]

1. The Argentine Republic, through each of its successive Governments, has given and will continue to give the collective security system steadfast, active support, by means of specific action in the field of the maintenance of international peace and security, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the decisions of the Security Council. This strong commitment has been particularly evident in the post-cold war period, during which Argentina and a number of other countries have contributed actively and decisively to the consolidation of the collective security system and to the implementation of the decisions of the Security Council.

2. The Government of the Argentine Republic believes that it is essential at the current stage that there be a free exchange of ideas among all Member States on an issue to which it attaches the utmost importance: the question of an increase in the membership of the Security Council.

3. It is of the view that implementation of General Assembly resolution 47/62 will contribute to the achievement of that goal and to a broad and lasting

consensus that could lead to the restructuring of the principal United Nations organ in question, whose primary responsibility is the maintenance of international peace and security.

4. The Argentine Republic shares the view held by the majority of the Members of the Organization that the United Nations should, on the basis of respect for the principle of sovereign equality laid down in the Charter, reflect the major changes that have taken place recently on the international scene.

5. Account should be taken both of the changed international situation and of the significant increase in the number of Member States.

6. The Argentine Government therefore believes that the membership of the Security Council could be reviewed, taking account of the following:

(a) An increase in the number of non-permanent members only, sufficient to ensure proper representation of the States Members of the Organization without diminishing the Council's flexibility and effectiveness; the increased Council membership should also ensure equitable geographical distribution, among all regions;

(b) However, if a consensus emerges that a new category of members should be created, the Argentine Republic may consider joining such a consensus, provided that the principle of the sovereign equality of States is fully respected and that States that have consistently shown their firm determination to support the collective security system laid down in the Charter and the relevant Security Council decisions are not excluded. The change in membership must guarantee that the Security Council will function effectively and ensure equitable geographical representation;

(c) The criteria for membership of the Council set out in Article 23, paragraph 1, of the Charter must remain fully applicable;

(d) The machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes provided for in Article 33 of the Charter must be strengthened;

(e) In order to maintain an appropriate balance among all the organs provided for in the Charter, it would be highly desirable to consider setting up, in accordance with Article 24 of the Charter, an appropriate arrangement for reporting on a regular basis between the Council and the Assembly;

(f) It would also be most desirable to refine the rules of procedure governing consideration of the various questions brought before the Council.

7. Provision should be made for parties to a conflict to participate in informal consultations held by the members of the Security Council, particularly where one of the parties is itself a member of the Security Council.

## AUSTRALIA

[Original: English]

[7 July 1993]

1. The Australian Government encourages open and positive discussions on a review of the membership of the Security Council to ensure that it operates as effectively as possible in discharging its primary responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security in contemporary circumstances.

2. While the Council has played an effective role in recent years, it faces increasing and more complex demands in an international environment very different to that at any time since the inception of the United Nations.

3. Australia believes that the review of the membership of the Security Council should be governed by three broad considerations:

(a) The principal concern in any review should be to maintain and, where possible, enhance the effectiveness of the Security Council;

(b) Changes to the Council's composition must be related to and considered in tandem with a review of the Council's decision-making methods, which would then apply in an expanded Council;

(c) Reform arising from such a review should ensure that the Security Council continues to fulfil its mandate and command overwhelming international support for its decisions in the years ahead.

4. To retain its legitimacy, the Security Council must be perceived as possessing a global vision, willing to turn its attention to threats to international peace and security as the situation warrants rather than in accordance with the dictates of the national interests of Council members. To do this, the Council needs to ensure that it is well informed of the views of non-permanent members, and of the wider United Nations membership. Australia is firmly of the view that the Council, while maintaining efficient decision-making procedures, must be founded on cooperation between Member States, not exclusivity. In this context, Australia places great importance on the Charter's injunction that the United Nations should "be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations" (Article 1, para. 4). Any review should also promote the representativeness of the Council.

### Effectiveness and decision-making

5. Any change in composition must allow the Security Council to retain the capacity to act decisively and in a timely fashion, as required by Article 24 of the Charter. An increase in the membership of the Council has to be measured against the way the Council takes decisions. This requires, in the first instance, that consideration be given to the overall size of the Council. A limit of 20 seems appropriate to maintain operability. A Council of 20 would permit the preservation of the current proportion of affirmative votes

constituting a qualified majority (9 affirmative votes out of the 15 members), which would become 12 affirmative votes out of 20 members.

6. Consideration should also be given to retaining an appropriate balance in the proportion of permanent to non-permanent members. While the Council's effectiveness is well served by having a core of members with lengthy experience, it also rests on the healthy rotation of membership of countries, large and small, which bring the full range of perspectives on international affairs to the work of the Council.

7. The existing permanent members of the Security Council have, individually and cooperatively, made a very important contribution to the Council's revival. In any system of collective security, there will be a need for some form of "last resort" safeguard to protect the national interests of the strongest players in that system, if only to ensure that they have a stronger stake in acting within the system than outside of it. In terms of the Council's effectiveness, a review of its composition which called into question the status of the current permanent members would, in the view of the Australian Government, be counter-productive.

8. There are good grounds, however, not to extend the veto power any further. The evolution of the Security Council's collective security role has seen diminished recourse to the veto. The Council's early history none the less illustrated how misuse of the veto could hinder prompt and effective decision-making. The Australian Government would regard the extension of the veto power as inconsistent with its diminishing use in a more cooperative atmosphere for collective security decision-making. In practical terms, it is difficult to see how an increase in the number of members with the veto power - even if this were to be accompanied by a new requirement that the veto, to be effective, be exercised by two (or three, or even more) permanent members - would improve the efficacy of the Council's decision-making.

9. The effectiveness of the Security Council could be enhanced by improving its procedures. There should be broader consultation by permanent members with non-permanent members and with Member States outside the Council whose interests are affected by a particular issue before it. Troop-contributing countries, for example, should be consulted when consideration is being given to establishing or renewing a peace-keeping operation.

10. The Australian Government would also welcome procedural reform which established an early warning system to draw the Council's attention to emerging global crisis and threats, military or non-military. It should be possible for the Council to meet periodically to consider situations "which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute" (Article 34 of the Charter) in order to look at potential problems not covered by the existing Council agenda. Matters for consideration could be determined by relying on Articles 11, 12, 14, 52 and 99 of the Charter as well as the proposals of the Council and Member State An early warning procedure on this or other lines would enable the Council to take action to assist the peaceful settlement of disputes before problems escalate into armed conflict or complete breakdown of law and order.

11. The purpose of the procedural improvements suggested above is to ensure that, even within the practical limits of an increase in membership which are

dictated by the need for manageability, the Council's capacity to respond consistently to security problems in all parts of the world is as strong as possible. While such reforms would complement enlargement of the Council, their introduction should not be held back until agreement on a revised Council composition is reached.

## Legitimacy

12. Effectiveness and legitimacy are interrelated factors in considering the role of the Security Council. The Council's responsibilities are conferred by Member States, and it acts on their behalf (Article 24 of the Charter). Its decisions, while binding on all Member States under Article 25 of the Charter, depend for their effect on the extent of international support for the Council. This in turn will ultimately be influenced by the degree to which the Council is perceived to be adequately representative of the United Nations membership. The membership has of course increased greatly in the past 48 years but the Council has increased in size only once, in 1965, with the result that in June 1993 a Council of 15 members acts on behalf of an organization with 183 Member States.

13. To guarantee its legitimacy, the Council's composition needs to reflect the realities of global and regional power. For this reason, the Australian Government has publicly expressed its support for Japan's obtaining permanent membership of the Security Council. Such an enhanced status for Japan should not, however, preclude additional representation from the Asia/Pacific region in an enlarged Council.

## Possible changes to the Council's composition

14. The Australian Government does not believe that reallocation of seats within the current size of the Council is a viable option. Australia would regard positively the creation of a small number of additional seats to be allocated among regions in a manner which promotes the Security Council's representativeness.

15. Consideration should be given to amending Article 23 of the Charter to remove the existing prohibition on successive terms of membership for non-permanent members. Such an amendment would permit more opportunity for increasingly frequent membership for major regional Powers which do not have permanent membership, although this should not be at the expense of opportunities for smaller countries to serve on the Council. A refinement of such an amendment could therefore be to extend the removal of the current prohibition in Article 23 to no more than one non-permanent seat for each region.

16. As a final comment on possible review of the Security Council's composition, the Australian Government believes it is desirable to use the opportunity of making necessary amendments to the Charter to remove the outdated "enemy state" clauses in Articles 53 and 107.

/..

## BAHAMAS*

[Original: English]

[30 June 1993]

1. The "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council", included in the agenda under resolution 47/62 of 11 December 1992, is of particular interest to States members of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) and formal comments will be submitted as soon as possible, following the meeting of CARICOM Heads of Government to be held in the Bahamas.

2. It has been agreed, however, that some preliminary views should be submitted to you, taking into account the deadline of 30 June 1993 for the receipt of replies for inclusion in your report to the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session.

3. Permanent Representatives of CARICOM are agreed on the need for an increase in the membership of the Security Council in the light of the changing world political environment and its impact on the membership of the United Nations.

4. Further, Permanent Representatives of CARICOM are of the view that discussions on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council should also take into account key aspects of the Council's decision-making process including the veto concept, accountability and transparency, as well as contributions to the United Nations with special emphasis on the financing of peace-keeping operations.

## BELGIUM

[Original: French]

[4 June 1993]

1. Belgium notes with considerable satisfaction that in recent years the Security Council has regained its capacity effectively to exercise the powers conferred on it by the Charter of the United Nations with respect to international peace and security.

2. As a non-permanent member during the past two years, Belgium has developed a renewed awareness of the exceptional responsibilities assumed by the Council and of the fundamental importance of its smooth functioning. As the number of conflicts and, in particular, of civil wars, that pose a threat to regional or international security increases, this principal organ of the United Nations assumes even greater importance in a world widely unified by rapid transportation and communication networks.

---

* Transmitted by the Permanent Representative of the Bahamas in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of Member States of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM).

/...

3. Moreover, this very renaissance, and the substantial increase in the number of Member States in recent decades, have prompted many Governments to recommend a restructuring of the Security Council, with a view, in particular, to ensuring that its composition more adequately reflects that of the United Nations itself. Belgium recognizes the merits of this desire for reform: it is essential that the international community consider itself properly represented in the Council.

4. However, geographical distribution is not the sole criterion to be taken into account in this context. Given the very heavy responsibilities which the Security Council must assume, its members and, in particular, its permanent members, must be in a position to make a special political, military and financial contribution with respect to the actions and operations decided on by the Council. The inability of permanent members to satisfy this criterion would rapidly compromise the authority and mobilizing power of the Council.

5. Similarly, it is reasonable to desire appropriate representation by non-permanent members, whose constant and substantial contributions make it possible to implement the decisions of the Council as well as those of other United Nations bodies and the specialized agencies. The collective contribution of these Member States must not be underestimated.

6. In concrete terms, the foregoing considerations could lead to the admission of two new permanent members, provided that they assume all the obligations incumbent upon such members. An increase in the number of permanent members should by no means result in a decrease in the number of non-permanent members. In the case of certain geographical groups which consider themselves underrepresented, consideration undoubtedly also should be given to adding one non-permanent seat. Such a limited expansion would not restrict the effectiveness of the Council and would significantly improve its representative nature.

7. In order to supplement this structural balance through equitable representation within each regional group, the groups should be encouraged to conclude rotation agreements.

8. Inasmuch as the Charter of the United Nations also assigns certain powers with respect to international peace and security to other organs, any modifications introduced in the composition and functioning of the Council should be arrived at bearing in mind the role which such other bodies and, first and foremost, the General Assembly, might play.

9. The foregoing proposals could serve as the basis for a productive reform of the Security Council. However, Belgium considers that any change must not be undertaken in haste, under pressure which certain countries might exert on others. It is only with the agreement of the current permanent members and in the framework of a true consensus that a change can come about and yield the desired results.

10. The preceding observations are general and preliminary in nature, in keeping with the current stage of the debate. The Belgian Government will reconsider this suggested reform, to the extent that progress in the dialogue invites more concrete proposals. It hopes that, following the complete ratification of the Treaty of Maastricht, the implementation of the common

/...

foreign and security policy will enable the members of the European Political Union to achieve a greater measure of agreement on the relevant options which should receive support.

## BRAZIL

[Original: English]

[4 June 1993]

1. The Brazilian Government welcomes the opportunity to presents its comments on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council, as requested by the Secretary-General in accordance with General Assembly resolution 47/62 of 11 December 1992.

2. The adoption by consensus of General Assembly resolution 47/62, which Brazil had the honour to co-sponsor, reflects the recognition by the international community that the time has come to reassess the composition of the Security Council, in the light of the substantial increase in the membership of the United Nations and of the ever more active and important role the Council is being called upon to play in a rapidly and dramatically changing international situation.

3. In accordance with Article 24 of the Charter of the United Nations, it is on behalf of all Members of the United Nations that the Security Council acts in carrying out its duties in the exercise of the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, which is conferred on the Council by the membership as a whole.

4. As the Security Council is being called upon to consider and to act in an ever-growing number of complex and often unprecedented questions which affect or may affect the fundamental interest of the States Members of the United Nations, it becomes increasingly important to ensure that its composition properly reflects the entire membership of the Organization and, at the same time, is adequate to deal with the great challenges that must be faced by the United Nations in the years to come. A more representative and balanced composition of the Council would enhance the effectiveness of its actions and the authority of its decisions. In 1945, the Security Council had 11 members, which was more than 20 per cent of the entire membership of the Organization, while today less than 9 per cent of the States Members of the United Nations are members of the Council. As noted by the Brazilian delegation in the debate on this question during the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly, "it has been argued that serious consideration of the question of the composition of the Security Council could conceivably bring about a Pandora's box of discussions on a series of other aspects of the Charter and should therefore be avoided. In our view this argument does not stand. Had the 'Pandora's box' argument been invoked and accepted in 1963, the General Assembly would not have adopted resolution 1991 A (XVIII) and the Security Council would today still have only 11 members, as it had in 1945" (see A/47/PV.69).

5. The question of the composition of the Security Council should be considered and decided on its own merits. There is no need or use for it to be

confused or linked with much more complex and difficult issues related to provisions of the Charter other than those directly related to the number of permanent and non-permanent members of the Council.

6. The question is politically important, but it is also procedurally very simple. All that it required is the approval by the General Assembly of a resolution by which, as it did almost three decades ago, it would decide to adopt very specific amendments to Articles 23 and 27 of the Charter and to submit these amendments to the ratification procedure set forth in Article 108.

7. Over the past few years, it has been suggested by growing numbers of Governments, analysts and commentators that the time has come to increase the number of permanent members of the Security Council so as to reflect better the overall membership of the United Nations and the changed international situation. Brazil believes that, in order to ensure a more equitable and balanced composition of the Security Council as a whole, both among permanent and non-permanent members, serious consideration should be given to the idea of entrusting the responsibility of permanent membership in the Council to perhaps two additional major industrialized States, as well as to one major country from each of the main regions of the developing world; an appropriate limited increase in the number of other members could also be provided for at the same time. The new Security Council would have a total of 23 or 24 members, including non-permanent and permanent members.

8. Brazil submits its views and suggestions in a constructive spirit, with a view to contributing to the elaboration of specific draft amendments to the provisions of the Charter on the composition of the Security Council, a process that it understands should be launched by the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session.

## CAMBODIA

[Original: French]

[25 June 1993]

The Permanent Mission of the Supreme National Council of Cambodia to the United Nations presents its compliments to the United Nations Secretariat and, with reference to General Assembly resolution 47/62, has the honour to inform it, as instructed by His Royal Highness Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State and President of the Supreme National Council, that Cambodia is favourable to a review of the membership of the Security Council and supports the candidacy of India in any future change.

/...

## CHILE

[Original: Spanish]

[30 June 1993]

### ELEMENTS OF THE REPORT

1. Although from a purely procedural standpoint the process of amending a particular provision of the Charter of the United Nations would appear to be relatively simple, requiring only the adoption of a draft resolution proposing the desired amendments to Articles of the Charter (in this case, Articles 23 and 27) and their subsequent ratification in accordance with Article 108 of the Charter, Chile believes that a reform process as important as that proposed with respect to the Security Council must be the object of a broad consensus reflecting the existence of the political will of the majority of States to see the process through, and that it must receive the crucial support of the five permanent members of the Security Council, without whose agreement no proposals for change will be viable. In other words, this reform requires, first and foremost, a solid political agreement.

2. In light of the foregoing, Chile believes that the United Nations should promote a substantive political dialogue, through an open-ended working committee or group which would first define the guidelines for consensus and the minimum criteria needed to ensure the success of the reforms, bearing in mind the prevailing good will which made possible, *inter alia*, the adoption of General Assembly resolution 47/62.

### OBJECTIVES OF THE REFORM

3. The Government of Chile believes that the main reason for restructuring the Security Council should be effectively to strengthen the effectiveness of its work. A reform which strives solely to provide a measure of political recognition by the international community to particular emerging Powers would be unjustified and groundless.

4. Chile certainly agrees that the restructuring of the Security Council should reflect the new international reality, which means that new global Powers should be incorporated in it; however, their inclusion in the Security Council should be considered only to the extent that their presence signals a genuine, resolute commitment, and an effective and efficient contribution to the delicate task of maintaining and preserving international peace and security. In this regard, it is also necessary to take into account the substantial increase in the membership of the world Organization. Indeed, in 1945, 51 countries were Members of the United Nations and 11 were members of the Security Council. Today, 183 countries are Members of the Organization, while only 15 are represented on the Council.

5. This, Chile believes, should be the purpose underlying any reform of the Council, in order that the broadest possible representation will, over and above all other considerations, lead primarily to a shared but *expeditious* decision-making process.

## SCOPE OF THE REFORM

6. Similarly, Chile favours a reform that is limited in scope, as regards both the enlargement of the Council's membership and the modification of some of its powers; excessive expansion could prove an obstacle to the primary objective of strengthening the Council's capacity to act and the timeliness of its actions, a situation which undoubtedly is neither appropriate nor desirable.

7. Accordingly, the so-called "democratization" of the Security Council should be compatible with a membership that properly reflects changes in the world, while bearing in mind that the Charter itself, in its Article 24, provides for a limited membership in conferring on it the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security on behalf of all Member States.

## THE VETO

8. Bearing in mind that the main objective of the reforms is to strengthen the effectiveness of the Security Council's actions, Chile considers that, as a matter of principle, while in general the veto is not a democratic mechanism for decision-making, any effort to change the veto system is not easy and should strive to develop methods to regulate and/or control its use and maintain the effectiveness of the Security Council.

9. The viability of such a reform must, first and foremost, ensure that the functions of the Council are safeguarded, bearing in mind that this organ must be provided with the means to facilitate the effectiveness and timeliness of its work.

10. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that the work of the Security Council - although not any easier - has at least been facilitated by the climate of improved cooperation which has begun to prevail during this new phase in international relations, one result of which undoubtedly has been the limited use of the veto.

## CONCLUSIONS

11. In light of the foregoing, Chile's preliminary view is that the political dialogue on the reform should focus on the following key elements:

(A) Number of members by which to enlarge the Council and categories of membership

(1) Chile believes that the Security Council should consist of no more than 24 or 25 members, in the following four categories:

(a) Permanent members;

(b) Permanent members without the veto;

(c) Regional members serving a long term of office;

(d) Non-permanent members.

(B) Modality and criteria for increasing the membership: (categories; regional participation; powers; duration of terms of office; re-election)

(2) The following suggestions for this list of categories may be considered:

(a) Permanent members with the veto

There would be no changes in this category of Council membership.

(b) Permanent members without the veto

A new category of permanent members without the veto would make it possible to include nations which, given their economic and industrial potential, now have a real capacity to make a substantial contribution to the work of the Security Council (one from Asia and one from Europe).

(c) Regional representatives serving a long term of office

Other nations from the major regions of the developing world could, by virtue of their importance in their region, join the Council on behalf of regions or subregions, as regional representatives serving a long term of office, also without the veto.

The modalities applicable to this category certainly merit further detailed studies which, broadly speaking, might be based on criteria similar to those prevailing in international financial bodies, where the "shared seat" or other rotation mechanisms are used. Thus, a Council member in this category might have two "alternates" from nations in the region it represents. Such an arrangement would make it possible to satisfy and reconcile individual and regional aspirations and would effectively help to satisfy the desire for greater democratization and balance in the composition, deliberations and decision-making process of the Council, without impinging on its ability to act expeditiously. Regional representation must never remain the province of a single country, and the votes of regional members should represent the views of all the nations of the region, although ultimately the vote cast is that of the country actually represented in the Council.

Members serving as regional representatives would be elected for longer periods than non-permanent members and would be able to stand for re-election.

(d) Non-permanent members

Non-permanent members would be elected in accordance with procedures the same as or similar to those currently in force, which means that equitable geographical distribution would be taken into account, members would serve for two-year terms and they would not be able to be re-elected.

12. Chile also believes that the restructuring of the Security Council should constitute an integral part of a broad and far-reaching process of reform of the United Nations system which will enable the Organization fully to discharge the important work assigned to it by the Charter, work which has been thwarted in the past.

13. The global reform process should embrace not only political and security issues, the importance of which no one questions, but also current tasks and future challenges in the economic and social fields and those relating to cooperation.

14. The Security Council's new structure will enable the Organization to shift its intense focus from a world order revolving around a small number of Powers to one characterized by greater openness, cooperation and solidarity.

15. Lastly, a modern United Nations more representative of the emerging world order should once and for all leave behind it the structural vestiges of the period following the Second World War, particularly references to the defeated Powers. Accordingly, consideration should be given to amending Article 53, and to the possibility of deleting paragraph 2 thereof, which defines "enemy state" on the basis of an order which evolved from that world conflagration.

16. Chile is prepared to continue contributing to discussions on this subject with a view to reaching a position reflecting a consensus in the world Organization.

## CHINA

[Original: Chinese/English]

[30 June 1993]

1. The past few years have witnessed dramatic changes in the international situation, and this has given rise to the enhanced status of the Security Council in world affairs, enabling it to play an ever increasingly important role in the maintenance of world peace and security, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. This element has also been stressed in the preamble of resolution 47/62 adopted by the General Assembly in December 1992.

2. It is worth noting that the United Nations itself has, in close interaction with the outside world, undergone tremendous metamorphoses since its birth in 1945, with its membership expanded from 51 at its inception to the current total of 183 Member States, most of them being developing countries. It is therefore quite understandable that many a country has put forward various proposals and suggestions regarding the expansion of the Security Council. It is the view of the Chinese Government that there is a need to expand the membership of the Security Council in an appropriate manner when the time is ripe, so that the Council, in keeping pace with the changing situation both inside and outside the United Nations, will carry out its functions in an even more effective and vigorous way in international affairs. In this connection, China welcomes discussions among all the Member States and is prepared to engage in a positive and pragmatic exchange of views with other countries.

3. At present, the international community places great hope in the Security Council with the expectation that it will bring its constructive and vibrant role into greater play in the international arena. Like many other countries, it is China's conviction that the proposed expansion of the Council should be instrumental in further promoting its efficacy so that the Council will be in a better position to fulfil its mandate under the Charter, pursuant to the purposes and principles thereof. It should not affect the Council's efficacious role or erode the existing effective mechanism.

4. Any measure to reform the Council, including the expansion of its membership, should be guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter and take full account of the need for equitable geographical distribution.

5. As provided for in Article 24 of the Charter, the responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security is derived from the States Members of the United Nations. It is therefore extremely significant and necessary for the Council to enhance transparency of its work so as to make its actions best reflect the collective will and common aspirations of the membership of the United Nations.

6. As the proposed restructuring of the Council has a direct bearing on the interests of all States Members of the United Nations and may entail the revision of the Charter, this process will necessarily be a fairly long one involving complicated political, legal and procedural issues. China maintains that any measure aimed at restructuring the Council should therefore be considered in a prudent and cautious manner. Any proposal in this regard should be judged in light of extensive and comprehensive discussions among various interested parties and sanctioned on the basis of broad consensus and universal acceptance of the Member States.

## COLOMBIA

[Original: Spanish]

[29 June 1993]

1. General Assembly resolution 47/62 marks the beginning of a fundamental process of reforming the Security Council. Colombia was a sponsor of resolution 47/62, which was adopted by consensus. This resolution represents the recognition by the international community of the need to change the membership of the Council.

### I. MEMBERSHIP OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

2. At the time of its establishment, the United Nations was made up of 51 nations. The Security Council at that time consisted of 11 members, including the five permanent members. Decisions on all questions, except those of a procedural nature, required seven affirmative votes, including the concurring vote of the five permanent members.

3. The provisions of the United Nations Charter on membership and voting in the Security Council were amended only once; the amendments in question entered into force in 1965, when the United Nations had 113 members. The number of members on the Council increased from 11 to 15, and the majority required for taking decisions was increased from seven votes to nine. There was no change with regard to the permanent members or their right of veto. Nevertheless, the practice in the Council amended de facto the letter of the Charter and, in actual fact, the affirmative vote of the five permanent members is not necessary; rather it suffices that none of them imposes a veto. Abstention therefore does not constitute any obstacle for the adoption of decisions, even though it is not an affirmative vote as provided for under the Charter. In essence, while there was no formal reform, one should have been carried out. The fact that a small number of countries might, on the basis of precedents, amend a treaty signed by 183 countries is highly questionable.

4. Today, the United Nations has 183 Member States, as opposed to the 51 original States which signed the San Francisco Charter and the 113 Members which amended the Charter. Similarly, the political, economic and military realities that predominated during the post-war period were fundamentally different from current ones, a situation which served as the basis for the composition of the Council in 1945 as well as the exceptional prerogative of the privileged right of veto for the countries that were victorious in the Second World War. Today some of these countries do not have the political, economic or military importance used to justify their position of privilege at that time.

5. Colombia considers that it is necessary to revise the membership of the Security Council in view of the changes referred to. It is hoped that the process of amending Article 23 of the Charter will begin before the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, that is, before 1995.

## A. Membership

6. A balanced increase in the number of members of the Security Council, both permanent as well as non-permanent members, has become an imperative need in view of international realities. Such an increase should reflect the current number of States Members of the Organization, the realities of the new international situation and an equitable distribution among all existing regional groups.

7. Colombia believes that, in order to ensure such an equitable composition, the Council should admit two more countries from the developed world as well as two countries from each region of the developing world, namely, Latin America and the Caribbean, Africa and Asia. The criteria set forth in Article 23, paragraph 1, of the Charter, in our view, are still fully valid. In any event, any change in the membership of the Council applying to certain regions only would be contrary to those criteria and, in addition, to the spirit on which any change in the Council's composition should be based. This proposal, which would enhance the representative character of the Council, would not affect its effective functioning.

/...

### B. Voting. Privilege of the right of veto

8. From the beginning, the right of veto was the subject of considerable controversy not only because it is contrary to the principle of the sovereign equality of States but also because it is a mechanism of non-cooperation in a system of collective security which necessarily requires cooperation. Colombia voted against the veto in San Francisco because it considered it anti-democratic. On the other hand, it was obvious that the effective establishment of the United Nations would have been impossible in 1945 without the right of veto for some of the Members of the Organization.

9. At the current time, however, the right of veto has lost practically all its raison d'être, having become a privilege lacking any proportion. In any event, an increase in the number of permanent members should not involve additional rights of veto since that would be unjustifiable in view of current realities. Obviously, any change in the voting procedure, including the right of veto, is subject to the majority provided for in Article 27, paragraph 3, of the Charter and confirmed in article 40 in the rules of procedure of the Security Council. This brings us to the need to consider revising these articles, since there is no basis in current realities for the veto mechanism. The flexibility and consent of the permanent members are determinant in this regard. Otherwise, the international community may ultimately repudiate the very authority of the Security Council.

10. In accordance with the foregoing, it has become necessary to formulate specific proposals on ways to replace the veto mechanism, either through a qualified majority or by a weighted vote, depending on the type of decision to be taken or, if this is not accepted, through the active participation of other bodies of the United Nations system as appeal mechanisms, particularly through the General Assembly (on the basis of special majorities). General Assembly resolution 377 A (V), entitled "Uniting for peace", is an example illustrating the active participation of the Assembly and the exercise of its functions in the area of international peace and security. In any event, as an exceptional and extreme measure to be used on a provisional basis, the use of a veto could be limited exclusively to decisions that fall under Chapter VII of the Charter.

## II. FUNCTIONING

### A. Sphere of competence

11. The Security Council has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security under Article 24 of the Charter. At the same time effective political control over the acts of the Council is maintained through the balance among the principal organs within the system of collective security provided for under the Charter and the definition of their responsibilities, in particular, through the submission of reports by those organs, including the Security Council, to the General Assembly.

12. At the present time, there is a widespread belief that the Council has been gradually and illegally expanding its powers on the basis of precedents in such a way as to encroach on the jurisdictions of other organs in the system. To that end, the Council makes use of a loose, liberal and creative

interpretation - which, in our view, is not justified by the Charter - of the concept of "a threat to international peace and security", which is not defined in a categorical or absolute manner. There have been several cases in which questions that come within the competence of other organs, such as, inter alia, human rights, humanitarian assistance and refugees, have been transferred to the jurisdiction of the Security Council by describing the situations as threats to peace or by means of so-called preventive diplomacy. Preventive diplomacy should be used by the other organs in the system which are competent with regard to political, social, economic and humanitarian affairs before a conflict arises.

### B. Relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly

13. Under Article 24 of the Charter, the Security Council has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and acts on behalf of the States Members of the Organization. This does not necessarily exclude tasks carried out by other organs in this field, particularly the General Assembly. It is essential to underscore the importance of Articles 10, 11, 14, 15 and 35 of the Charter in this regard. While it is true that we are engaged in a process of substantial revitalization of the General Assembly, in order to ensure the success of this process, it is of fundamental importance to have the cooperation of the Security Council in developing these functions. Only this will make it possible to ensure a greater balance between the two bodies.

14. In this regard, the Government of Colombia wishes to refer specifically to the need for greater transparency in the work of the Council, the Council's political responsibility with regard to the General Assembly under Article 24 of the Charter, and fulfilment of the obligation to report to the Assembly under Article 15, by providing reports that are exhaustive and analytical and not limited to a mere enumeration of resolutions that is more like a records index than a substantive political report. In this connection, we believe that there should be more frequent submission of reports to the General Assembly or of the special reports provided for under the Charter. Furthermore, there should be a list of statements by the President, which represent a formulation of the Council's policies that we consider to be of the greatest importance, and there should be an account of the activities of the Security Council committees that monitor the sanctions regimes established under Chapter VII of the Charter.

15. Colombia is currently participating in the consultations being held on item 31 of the agenda of the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly and is prepared to put forward proposals in the Informal Open-Ended Ad Hoc Working Group on Agenda Item 31 (Revitalization of the work of the General Assembly), particularly with regard to the content of the report by the Security Council to the Assembly. My Government believes that the consideration of the report by the General Assembly should include the adoption of an Assembly resolution which takes note of the report and formulates recommendations on form and substance for the elaboration of future reports.

### C. Informal consultations

16. Informal consultations have become an ongoing and everyday practice of the Council. While it is true that such consultations may promote timely and speedy measures and a greater openness in national positions, a situation which may help to bring about a better compromise, it is also true that their merit is exaggerated because many of them lack the confidentiality and political sensitivity which originally justified them. We do not believe that the effectiveness of the Council can be compromised if lesser use is made of this mechanism. Transparency and efficiency are perfectly compatible.

## III. CONSTITUTIONAL CONTROL

17. Section II.A above refers to political control of Security Council action, which should ensure a balanced system with mutual supervision.

18. The Charter of the United Nations, like any constitutional document, should provide for an organ responsible for constitutional monitoring of the actions of the organs in the system. It was not possible in San Francisco to include such a provision because of political reasons, and it has been assumed that each organ regulates the legality of its own acts. While it is true that the organs must have a margin of sufficient discretion and interpretation to enable them to discharge their functions effectively, particularly the Security Council in the difficult task of keeping watch over international peace and security, it is also true that it is difficult to defend their absolute sovereignty because they are organs established by means of a treaty and are therefore subject to the collective will of the States expressed in their constitutive charter. Constitutional monitoring would promote the progressive development of international law and further enhance the international system. Colombia is aware that constitutional monitoring of Security Council action causes difficulty for many; this has always been an issue which gives rise to controversy and polemics in the field under consideration. Nevertheless, having recourse to a separate and independent body, particularly at the current time when the Council takes decisions very frequently about such diverse subjects and makes exaggerated use of Chapter VII of the Charter, would bring about a greater sense of responsibility in the exercise of the authority delegated to Council members by all States, prevent abuses of authority and confer legitimacy on the actions of the Council. Constitutional monitoring would not be aimed at abolishing the authority of the Security Council. Such monitoring would be directed towards the future in order to help dissuade the Council from taking decisions on matters whose consideration has been determined by such a monitoring body to be unrelated to the Council's mandate, without calling in question specific actions on which the Council has previously taken a decision.

19. Colombia considers it important to undertake a study of a possible constitutional monitoring body which would determine the legality of actions taken by United Nations organs. One possible formula would be for the General Assembly to seek advisory opinions from the International Court of Justice concerning actions decided on by any other organ within the system.

/...

## COSTA RICA

[Original: Spanish]

[6 July 1993]

1. The Government of Costa Rica considers that, by its consensus adoption of resolution 47/62, entitled "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council", the General Assembly expressed the wish of the entire international community to review the status of the Security Council; this must be borne clearly in mind.

2. This question is of special interest to Costa Rica since, having constitutionally abolished the army as a permanent institution - and, in doing so, it was ahead of its time - Costa Rica today depends essentially on collective systems of security. Our ideas on the matter, which go beyond the simple question of membership, are as follows:

(a) Article 24 of the Charter states explicitly that the decisions of the Security Council are taken on behalf of all States Members of the United Nations. Since the only body in which all Member States are represented is the General Assembly, the Council should fully respect the Assembly and coordinate its activities with it. A number of ways to ensure such coordination are the following:

(i) The Council's annual reports to the Assembly should be submitted punctually during the first quarter of each year, and special reports should be submitted as promptly as the case requires;

(ii) These reports should be more explicit and more widely discussed;

(iii) The Council should be more transparent in its actions and should not abuse the practice of "informal consultations";

(iv) The Council should clearly define its functions. It should not make a practice of considering problems that affect the peace or security of nations only indirectly, since by doing so it would be dealing with issues that do not fall specifically within its competence (for example, human rights);

(v) In any case, the Council should not, as has allegedly occurred on a number of occasions, consider itself superior to or more powerful than other United Nations bodies.

(b) The composition of the Security Council should be reviewed. Two States that are major industrial and economic Powers should be made permanent members of the Council; to that end, the Charter's anachronistic Article 53 should be amended. In addition, one State for each of the three regional groups of developing countries should be admitted as a permanent member; this would bring the number of permanent members to 10. The number of non-permanent members should be increased by five, and care should be taken to ensure equitable regional representation. This would bring the number of seats for both categories to 25, or 13 per cent of all the States represented in the

/...

General Assembly; this number is still less than the initial 20 per cent required when the Organization was founded. This would ensure adequate representation without detriment to the efficiency of the system. Moreover, the criticism that the Council is run by a small number of Powers would no longer be justified, and it would be clear that the Council was guided by a spirit of solidarity and joint participation.

(c) A very good principle would be to assign the non-permanent seats to three States on the basis of common interests; this has been the practice of the Bretton Woods institutions and it has had good results. In this case, even though the seat is given to only one State, the other two States would serve as alternates and would enjoy all the privileges of that status.

(d) We consider that the right of veto, which is the prerogative of the current five permanent member States, is not very democratic, since it allows the opinion of a single country to prevail over all the others. Moreover, it is anachronistic since it goes back to the Second World War, which occurred half a century ago. Although it can be said that the right of veto has not been applied recently, this does not guarantee that it will not be used again. Moreover, its very existence constitutes a means of exerting pressure - an "indirect veto". We understand that it will not be easy for the States that have this right to relinquish it; however, perhaps this privilege could be restricted as far as possible (for example, it could be used only in a special and limited way to implement Chapter VII of the Charter).

(e) An extremely important matter is the current lack of legal supervision of the Security Council's actions. Of course, the Council's capacity for action should not be limited, nor should the validity of its decisions be questioned. However, it must also be admitted that the legality of its actions on certain occasions has been called into question. This should not occur in a body with such important functions. Therefore, a possible solution would be for the General Assembly, which is virtually the source of the Council's power, to set guidelines for the Council's actions. The Assembly should do this in an abstract way and without reference to particular cases. There would then at least be a principle of legality established by the highest body of the United Nations. Another possibility would be to establish rules for obtaining an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice, at the request of the Secretary-General, as necessary.

(f) Finally, we attach great importance to the strengthening of the Secretary-General's authority in his relations with the Security Council. We should not allow the Council to act, as it has in the past, without acknowledging his existence. The Secretary-General's Agenda for Peace, *inter alia*, with its thought-provoking and promising proposals, supports this idea.

## CROATIA

[Original: English]

[28 June 1993]

1. The Government of the Republic of Croatia supports and welcomes the decision by the Secretary-General to consult Member States as provided for in paragraph 1 of General Assembly resolution 47/62 of 11 December 1992. The Republic of Croatia supports the spirit and basic intentions of the Assembly resolution and, although being among the newest Members of the United Nations, wishes to make a constructive contribution to the process of adoption of any amendments in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

### General considerations

2. The Republic of Croatia strongly supports intentions of the General Assembly resolution regarding the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council. The present structure of the Council does not fully correspond with the current global geopolitical situation, thus the increase in the membership of this body should reflect the actual political and economic situation and, at the same time, ensure a proper geographic balance.

3. The membership in the Security Council was increased in 1963 from 6 to 10 non-permanent members and the main reason to do so was the need to reflect in the Council the increase in the number of States Members of the United Nations. The Member States now number 183, which is an increase of 60 per cent, and the composition of the Security Council must be altered so as to strike a balance between the membership of the Security Council and that of the Organization as a whole.

4. The Republic of Croatia is aware of the fact that during the years of the substantive debate on the "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council" the impression among the membership as a whole has been that, in spite of the fact that the Security Council in recent years has acted with considerable effectiveness, it does not in its composition and procedures fully and adequately respond to contemporary realities. It is essential to stress the need for governing criteria in the possible reform of the Security Council - namely, the necessity of its representativity and legitimacy - but at the same time for efficiency, i.e., that the Security Council should be able to act rapidly, decisively and with authority.

5. Under Article 24 of the Charter, Member States confer on the Security Council the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and in carrying out its duties in this regard the Security Council acts on behalf of the membership as a whole, but at the same time the Charter provides that the Security Council must be effective in the discharge of its duties. The purpose of conferring responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security on the Security Council, as provided in Article 24, paragraph 1, of the Charter, is "to ensure prompt and effective

/...

action by the United Nations". The Republic of Croatia is deeply committed to this principle and is fully aware that the calls for changes in the composition of the Security Council arise at a time when the Council is performing more effectively and more actively than at any time since its foundation. The Republic of Croatia holds that the limited increase in membership of the Security Council would not impair or adversely affect its efficiency but would add to its overall ability to act with firmness and authority.

6. The growth in membership of the United Nations and the changed geopolitical reality of the world require that the Security Council, as well as the other organs of the Organization, should be examined to ensure the new and enhanced role now required of the United Nations. The Republic or Croatia supports the majority view in favour of an increase in the membership of the Security Council to ensure representativity and legitimacy, but at the same time is fully aware of the importance of the Council's retaining its effectiveness. All these elements should be taken into consideration and carefully examined to ensure that the Security Council will be considerably strengthened and better equipped to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century.

### Composition

7. It is necessary to stress the importance of the criteria for the election of non-permanent members of the Security Council as foreseen in paragraph 1 of Article 23 of the Charter, which says that the General Assembly shall elect 10 other non-permanent members, due regard being specially paid, in the first instance, to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution.

8. Having in mind these provisions which contain the aforementioned criteria, the Republic of Croatia strongly supports the increase in the number of members of the Security Council. The Republic of Croatia is of the opinion that the membership of the Security Council should be increased for both permanent and non-permanent members, taking into account the new world Powers as well as the States which are important for the stability of a certain region.

9. The Republic of Croatia would like to emphasize the importance of full respect for the aforementioned criteria because of the legitimacy of the Security Council's actions. According to paragraph 1 of Article 24 of the Charter, the Security Council, in carrying out its duties in the maintenance of international peace and security, acts on behalf of the States Members of the United Nations, so its composition must therefore be more representative to ensure the legitimacy of its actions. Furthermore, the Security Council not only acts on behalf of the Member States, but Member States agreed to accept and carry out the Council's decisions in accordance with Article 25 of the Charter.

10. The Republic of Croatia is of the opinion that the actual global geopolitical situation requires an enlargement of the Security Council in order to ensure all the criteria prescribed in the Charter. On the other hand, attention should be given to the fact that the Security Council is primarily responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security in order to ensure effective and prompt action by the United Nations. Therefore, it is of utmost importance that the composition of the Security Council be truly

representative of the entire membership of the United Nations. Such a composition would ensure the legitimacy of the Council's action.

11. With the enlargement of the United Nations membership, consideration should also be given to the possible creation of a central European group which would reflect particular similarities and interests of the region. It is obvious that the existing regional structure does not reflect the actual geopolitical situation. With the disappearance of the Berlin Wall, a large part of the European continent has gone through a significant political and economic metamorphosis. With the end of old ideological systems and divisions, new countries have emerged, thus reshaping the geopolitical picture of the European continent. Recognition of the particular Central European interests is a logical process that should be reflected in the operational structure of the United Nations Organization. Although the number of East European States has increased, there are still many States which cannot find their geopolitical identity in any of the existing regional groups.

## Functioning and working methods

12. Considering the question of the functioning and working methods of the Security Council, the Republic of Croatia would like to stress the fact that owing to the increasing number of States Members of the United Nations, as well as a new global geopolitical situation, a greater transparency in the Security Council's work is necessary. The Republic of Croatia is also of the opinion that transparency in work should be established, and therefore suggests that the Security Council should submit to the General Assembly regular reports more frequently and, of course, special reports whenever the Assembly asks for them.

13. Stressing the need for a greater transparency in regard to the proceedings of the Security Council, the Republic of Croatia would like to refer to the issue of peace-keeping and peacemaking operations under the auspices of the United Nations. The disorder and chaos which have ensued following the end of the cold war stress the importance of preventive diplomacy and peace-keeping operations, as well as an urgent need of activating the peacemaking mechanism in the parts of the world experiencing conflict. The fact that some countries which will not be able to resolve turbulent crises without the active assistance of the United Nations have opened their borders for peace-keeping and peacemaking operations, accepting the presence of international troops within their internationally recognized borders, should not, however, diminish their sovereignty and territorial integrity. States Members of the United Nations which have opened their borders for peace-keeping and peacemaking operations under the auspices of the United Nations should be consulted more thoroughly on the proceedings directly affecting them. The Republic of Croatia is of the opinion that the aforementioned States should be invited by the Security Council to participate in the Council's discussion without vote, not only in case their interests are specially affected - as provided in Article 31 of the Charter - but in every discussion, including the informal consultations, concerning a peace-keeping or peacemaking operation on their territory.

14. Although the mechanisms provided by the Charter ensure that the Security Council assumes its peace-keeping responsibilities, the Republic of Croatia would like to stress that this does not alter the fact that the primary obligation in this regard is the duty of the Member States to settle their

disputes through peaceful means. Any change in the Security Council should thus require an improvement in the existing mechanisms for the peaceful settlement of disputes and devising new ones as may be necessary.

15. The Republic of Croatia would like to contribute constructively during the process which began with General Assembly resolution 47/62, to prepare the launching of a process of amendments to the Charter, to coincide with the celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of the Organization, and to ensure that the Organization would be prepared to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century.

## CUBA

[Original: Spanish]

[29 June 1993]

1. My delegation welcomes the fact that, after years of unproductive consideration of the item, the General Assembly unanimously decided to adopt resolution 47/62, a development which represents in practical terms a universal recognition of the need for the process of restructuring and revitalization now taking place at the United Nations to be truly comprehensive, and for progress to be made in democratizing our Organization, not only to restore the necessary balance of powers bestowed by the Charter on the various principal organs, but also to end those practices and circumstances which for years have vitiated the work of the United Nations.

2. The Security Council, by virtue of its membership, practices and methods of work, currently constitutes a typical example of the machinery which needs to be reformed to enable the United Nations, in all its activities, to attain the democratic nature to which the Secretary-General aspired when, in his report entitled "An Agenda for Peace", he stated that "elements of good governance need to be promoted at all levels of international and national political communities" (A/47/277-S/24111, para. 59).

3. In the view of Cuba, the principle of the sovereign equality of States, which constitutes one of the tenets on which the Charter of the United Nations, and, hence, the Organization itself and its system, was based, has taken on special significance in the current international climate.

4. The challenges now faced by the international community are qualitatively different from those it faced in the past, when the balance of forces between two opposing blocs and the political and military doctrines deriving from that situation had a decisive influence on the structure and functional machinery of the United Nations. At the same time, the Organization has increased its membership to the point where it embraces almost all of the international community, while the General Assembly, as the only universal organ of the United Nations, with a profoundly democratic decision-making process, is increasingly demanding the restoration of its legitimate role under the Charter.

5. It follows inescapably from the above that there is a need for profound reform of the membership, structure and working methods of the Security Council:

/...

what is needed today is the promotion of attempts to tackle, at an early date and in strict compliance with the principles of the Charter, the sources of conflict, instability and tension which continue to undermine the prospects for peace and development of the international community as a whole, and not the preservation of anachronistic power structures or the creation of other new structures to serve the policy goals of the great Powers that dominate the work of the Council.

6. It is clear that any reform of the principal organs of our Organization must reflect thorough consideration and broad consultation with all members of the international community. Yet it is becoming daily only too evident that the organ most in need of reform is the Security Council itself, a process which must of necessity go hand in hand with the equally essential revitalization of the General Assembly, not to diminish or rationalize the Council's powers, but to allow it, effectively and without restriction, to exercise the functions conferred on it by the Charter, functions which form part of the balance that must prevail in the work of the United Nations.

7. The Security Council, the only United Nations organ empowered to use force, and whose unrestricted application of Chapter VII, which, notwithstanding the exceptional nature of the measures provided for under that Chapter, has become a common practice, today comprises 15 member States, 10 of them non-permanent members. Even the most superficial analysis reveals the enormous imbalance occasioned by that composition. Today this is more evident than ever before, not only because of the increase in the number of States Members of our Organization, but also because of the increasing powers that the Security Council is arrogating to itself. Moreover, if the composition of the Council is analysed from the most elementary critical perspective, it is quite apparent that the imbalance is reflected, not only in the number of Council members in comparison with the current total number of States Members of the United Nations, but also in the regional distribution of seats, as a result of which three regions - paradoxically those containing the vast majority of States participating in the work of the United Nations - are patently disadvantaged.

8. Accordingly, in the judgement of the Republic of Cuba, one of the most urgent steps which must be taken to reform the Security Council is to increase the number of Council members, having due and especial regard for the principle of equitable geographical distribution, which constitutes, beyond all doubt, one of the keystones of the Organization's activities. Of course, any new distribution of seats that is adopted must necessarily include, within each region's respective apportionment, all the regional members participating in the work of the Council, whether or not they are permanent or non-permanent members should it be decided that such a classification is to be retained. This would, in practice, be a means of helping to ensure that no region, through the number of its representatives on the Council, exercises power that is disproportionate to its true numerical weight within the total membership of the United Nations.

9. Although a procedure such as that outlined above would, in the view of Cuba, be an important step in the right direction, it has become patently clear, particularly in recent years, that the special privileges enjoyed by some members of the Security Council have no justification, either in the light of current realities or of the process of democratization required in our Organization. The fact that there are members whose presence in the Security

Council has become a quasi-divine right, without an opportunity for the Members of the United Nations as a whole to confirm periodically whether they wish to see them participate or not in the Security Council, the anachronistic and unjust "veto", which has already exceeded the original purpose the founders of the Organization sought to ascribe to it and has become a licence which has virtually made the rules of procedure that should prevail in the work of the Council inoperable, and other rights which some countries have arrogated to themselves by virtue of their status as permanent members of the Security Council, all make it necessary for there to be a thorough and urgent review of the question.

10. One should perhaps consider whether the current permanent members of the Council would not also benefit, in terms of their image and potential authority vis-à-vis the international community, if their status as members of the Security Council were ratified periodically by all the members of the Organization. This would also provide an important means of measuring the world's appreciation of their conduct of matters and establish a democratic principle of indisputable worth. It should not be forgotten in this context that it is the Members of the United Nations that, under Article 24 of the Charter, confer on the Council members "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf".

11. It would be worthwhile to explore whether the members of the international community as a whole are of the view that the current permanent members are indeed acting on their behalf and faithfully discharging the responsibilities conferred on them. It seems to us that the permanent members, if they believe that they are not abusing the responsibility placed on their shoulders by all States, have nothing to fear from the prospect of their status as members of the Council being renewed periodically.

12. A possible means of attaining this objective might be to require the names of the current permanent members of the Council to appear, every two or three years, on the list of candidates from their regional group which is considered by the General Assembly, and to submit themselves to the regular voting procedure utilized by the Assembly to elect members of the Security Council. A measure of this kind would no doubt add much more balance and would make a contribution to the more equitable representation on the Security Council sought under General Assembly resolution 47/62, just as it would give practical expression to the principle of the sovereign equality of States.

13. Because the view of the Republic of Cuba on the anachronistic and unjust "veto" is well known, we shall not dwell excessively on this topic. Suffice it to recall that, in our view, this procedure irretrievably vitiates the attempts to democratize the United Nations which the Secretary-General, quite properly and fairly, has considered to be his "central priority as Secretary-General", in the report on the work of the Organization which you submitted to the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session. 1/ Just as dangerous as the use of the "veto" in the case of Security Council resolutions, is the tendency prevailing in the Council for certain members to assume the "right" to interrupt the work

---

1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 1 (A/47/1), para. 9.

/...

of the Council, to frustrate or delay the holding of formal meetings of the Council which have been duly and properly requested, and to disregard, under the pretext of a practice created expressly by them, the procedural provisions that should govern the work of the Council.

14. We believe that a genuine process of reform and democratization of the Security Council, closely linked to the objective of attaining equitable representation on the Council, must remove once and for all, not only the "veto" as reflected in the Charter, but also what might be termed the "indirect veto" now used by certain members of the Security Council.

15. The lack of transparency in the work of the Council, a signal flaw which is becoming ever more accentuated, constitutes a further reason to work, with the utmost seriousness, to attain equitable representation on this, the principal organ. The necessary transparency, which derives directly from the above-cited provisions of Article 24 of the Charter, and thus from the acknowledgement that the Security Council acts on behalf of all Member States in the discharge of its functions and in this way has the responsibility of accounting to the General Assembly, should, in the view of Cuba, be reflected in both the day-to-day work of the Council and the annual report of the Security Council to the Assembly under Article 15 of the Charter of the United Nations.

16. Just as the number and quality of the formal meetings of the Security Council have diminished, having been replaced by so-called "informal consultations of the whole" held in secret behind closed doors without any record or summary of the topics discussed, so too have the opportunities for Members of the United Nations, those very Members which have conferred on the Security Council the functions it discharges, to become acquainted with the Council's deliberations.

17. Similarly, the structure and content of the report of the Security Council to the General Assembly, which, moreover, was issued unconscionably late this year, are such that it makes little if any contribution to awareness by States Members of the Organization of what has been done in their name.

18. These two factors taken together lead to the inevitable conclusion that the Security Council has become a closed "club" for a few Powers, and if to this are added the other flaws that we have referred to throughout this analysis we reach the sorry conclusion that the "right" to initiate warfare, conclude peace, impose sanctions, deploy military forces and so forth is in the hands of those who would use the United Nations, and in particular the Council, for their own, not always legitimate, political ends.

19. It is our belief that if the democratization of the United Nations is to become a reality, if the principle of the sovereign equality of States is to be fully applied in our Organization, if the objective of building a new United Nations is truly directed towards ensuring a world of peace, progress and development for all, without discrimination or coercion, it is essential, sooner rather than later, to undertake a thorough reform of the Security Council, without special privileges of any kind and with representation that is both equitable and representative of the entire membership of this world Organization.

20. It is our sincere hope that consideration of the subject under examination at the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly will constitute a positive step in the desired direction and that the report that is to be submitted by the Secretary-General in discharge of the mandate conferred on him under resolution 47/62 will make an effective contribution in the attainment of this objective.

## DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

[Original: English]

[2 July 1993]

1. At its forty-seventh session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 47/62 on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council which is the reflection of the unanimous will and wishes of the Member States to strengthen further the role of our Organization.

2. The international situation has now changed with the end of the cold war, but still we are faced with many old and new challenges more complicated and acute than ever before and they compel us to double our efforts to resolve them impartially and effectively for the maintenance of the peace and security of the world.

3. Reform of the Security Council has now become a prerequisite demand of the time and practical development.

4. Democracy and openness are essential in involving issues. And this shows us that the reformation of the Security Council should be done on the principles of guaranteeing democracy and openness so that the views of all the Member States, particularly the countries of the third world, are fully reflected in decision-making and solving the issues of international matters.

5. The efficiency and effectiveness of the Security Council could be improved and its role strengthened when the unanimous will and aspirations of the Member States are correctly and fully viewed and reflected in any action or activity that our Organization might be going to undertake.

6. It is, therefore, necessary for our Organization to maintain these principles in our endeavour to review and reorganize the composition of the Security Council, which works on behalf of all the Member States.

7. The United Nations has now 183 Member States and has become a larger body than ever before. And this increase in numbers and the wider aspect of the issues that we face today require more careful study and attention and more practical participation by the Member States in the deliberation to solve the issues in the Security Council. In order to meet this requirement it is necessary to increase the membership of the Security Council with a view to keeping the balance between the membership of the Security Council and that of the Organization.

/...

8. It is also recommendable to keep in mind the geographical and numerical basis in composing the membership of the Security Council in order to avoid unnecessary partiality and prejudice as well as group or regional imbalance.

9. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea holds the view that the relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council should also be reviewed and dealt with according to the newly developed situation so as to improve decisively the role of the General Assembly and strengthen its function as an international body in preserving international peace and security.

## DENMARK

[Original: English]

[1 July 1993]

1. The Government of Denmark attaches particular importance to the role of the Security Council in the efforts of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security and to prevent and remove threats to the peace. Current conflicts, acts of aggression and other breaches of the peace, endangering regional and international security, underline the crucial significance of this principal organ of the United Nations and the importance of its being able to function in an effective and efficient manner. The termination of the cold war has greatly improved the possibilities of the Security Council to implement the mandate entrusted to it in the Charter of the United Nations, and raised new expectations of the peoples of the United Nations concerning the ability of the Council to respond to the challenges facing it.

2. Article 23 of the Charter, determining the composition of the Security Council, states that in electing Members of the United Nations to the Security Council, due regard shall be "specially paid, in the first instance, to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution".

3. In the view of the Government of Denmark, any review of the membership of the Security Council should be based on the same considerations. Members of the Security Council, and above all the permanent members, must assume a special responsibility to secure, in general, the basis of the activities of the United Nations and, in particular, to contribute politically, militarily and financially to the implementation of the Council's decisions.

4. Without questioning the legitimacy of the present composition of the Security Council, the Government of Denmark recognizes the importance of ensuring that the Council membership reflects realities in the post-cold-war era rather than the situation that existed in the immediate post-Second World War period when the present composition of the Council was largely determined. It is of fundamental importance that the Security Council continues to be seen as acting on behalf of and enjoying the support of all Members of the United Nations.

/...

5. The Government of Denmark recognizes that, in the light of the increase in the number of Members of the United Nations, there is a case for an improved representation of the developing countries in order to reflect more adequately the membership of the United Nations itself. Also, Members of the United Nations other than the present permanent members of the Security Council with global influence and responsibilities may have a legitimate wish to see their influence and responsibilities acknowledged in the context of the composition of the Security Council.

6. However, it must be stressed that any changes in the composition of the Council, including a limited expansion of its membership, must not be permitted to impair the effective operation of the Security Council. Great care should therefore be exercised with regard to amending Article 27 of the Charter as regards the provision on concurring votes of the permanent members. In the view of the Government of Denmark, the number of permanent members whose concurring vote is needed for decisions on substantive matters should not be expanded.

7. Under all circumstances, it is important that the regional groups be invited to establish a system of rotation with a view to securing a fair representation of the individual members of a regional group.

8. It is the hope of the Government of Denmark that the debate on a possible review of the membership of the Security Council will continue in a serious and non-confrontational atmosphere, duly recognizing the difficulties and complexities involved in this issue, and that any solution be adopted unanimously by all Members of the United Nations.

## ECUADOR

[Original: Spanish]

[11 June 1993]

1. Ecuador holds that the question of equitable representation on the Security Council is part of a complex set of interrelated issues relating to that organ of the United Nations. Accordingly, it is not possible to refer to the membership of the Security Council without, at the same time, dealing with other questions such as the efficiency of the Council's proceedings and its rules of procedure.

2. With the end of the cold war, the world has witnessed major changes in the political conditions which until recently influenced the actions of States. Although the ultimate impact of these changes is still uncertain, a new international reality has already taken shape and has given rise to a series of phenomena which affect the Security Council.

3. One of the characteristics of this new reality is the admission of a large number of States into the United Nations family. As was emphasized in the discussions which led to the adoption of resolution 1991 A (XVIII) in 1963, the increase in the membership of the Security Council at that time responded to the necessity of keeping up with the increase in the number of countries which were Members of the Organization. Today the United Nations is once again

experiencing a substantial increase in its membership. Thus, from 113 States Members of the Organization in 1963, the year in which the last increase in the Council's membership took place, the number of Members today stands at 183.

4. An additional, but no less important, reason for change in the membership of the Security Council stems from the recognition that world power is gradually becoming decentralized and, hence, that there is a need to emphasize collective action by States for the maintenance of world peace and security. The principle of equitable representation of the different geographical regions must prevail in the Security Council and the disproportionate distribution of seats that exists today must be corrected.

5. The number of members of the Council can be increased on the basis of a new juridical and political approach which provides for the possibility of immediate re-election of members or longer terms on the Council. In any event, it must be pointed out that the veto is an anti-democratic practice that must not be extended.

6. It has been said that an increase in the membership of the Security Council would be detrimental to its efficiency. In the face of this argument, it should be recalled that the Council's efficiency depends on three factors: the willingness of its members - especially its permanent members - to work; the commitment of all Members of the Organization to cooperate; and respect for appropriate and clear rules of procedure. Ecuador definitely maintains that an increase in the membership of the Council must be carried out within specific parameters and must be accompanied by relevant procedural measures so as not to affect the Council's efficiency.

7. Not all the problems of the Council can be solved merely by increasing the number of its members, an adjustment which must be seen as a first step towards enhanced, collective action by States in the area of international peace and security.

8. It is essential that the Council act strictly within the limits of the powers vested in it by the Charter. Ecuador's basic view is that the activities of the Security Council must be governed by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and must be carried out within the limits of the powers granted to the Council under Chapters VI, VII, VIII and XII of the Charter. The trend towards broadening these powers in practice may create the impression of immediate effectiveness, but over the long term it will have a negative impact on the substantive functioning of the Council. Close coordination between the various organs of the United Nations is becoming increasingly necessary, which means that each organ must operate without provoking a reaction from the others and confine itself to its own sphere of competence.

9. The Security Council will be more effective the fewer conflicts it must deal with. This means that emphasis must be placed, first and foremost, on the principles of the Charter relating to the peaceful settlement of disputes and the prevention of conflicts. In this connection, so-called "preventive diplomacy", which has expanded the scope for action by the Council, is of great importance in itself and can become one of the features of the new international order.

/

10. With regard to the Council's procedures, it is imperative that the transparency of the decision-making process be guaranteed and increased. In the absence of rules or given the necessity of flexibility in dealing with its extensive agenda, the Council has established procedures through its customary practice, the ultimate expression of which are the so-called informal consultations.

11. It is common knowledge that the Council's decisions take shape during such consultations. Without referring to the climate of ill feeling which the negotiation of decisions behind closed doors creates among Members of the United Nations, Ecuador would point out that informal consultations also have the disadvantage of not affording other States, especially those involved in a dispute, an opportunity to make their views and motives known directly. On the other hand, the informal character of these meetings is detrimental to the Council itself, which is unable to have an official record of its activities and, consequently, lacks a detailed account of how its business has been conducted. Lastly, it is a basic rule of democratic coexistence that there should be a free flow of information and that publicity should be given to the proceedings of collective decision-making bodies. A Security Council whose attention is turned inward will gradually forfeit the confidence of the community and create misunderstandings and objections.

12. Finally, Ecuador considers that the report which the Security Council currently submits to the General Assembly in accordance with the provisions of Article 24 of the Charter does not possess the necessary qualities, either in terms of its substantive content or its format, for the General Assembly to consider it in a meaningful way. The Council's report must be substantive in nature. Lastly, the General Assembly must carefully study the report on the activities of the Council which the latter is required by the Charter to submit to the Assembly.

## FIJI

[Original: English]

[28 June 1993]

1. The Government of Fiji supports the view that there is a need for some reform in the Security Council and, in particular, for an increase in the total membership of the Council so as to reflect better the significant increase in the membership of the United Nations.

2. The essential character of the Security Council as a body representative of all States Members of the Organization should be made more meaningful to ensure that the Council does not become the preserve of only a few. It is, therefore, necessary to create conditions that would provide opportunities for all Member States to serve on the Council if they so wish. Accordingly, in the election of non-permanent members from various regional groups, priority should be given to Member States that have not served on the Council, say, during the previous 10 years.

3. While it is recognized that the device of a veto for certain major Powers is consistent with the special responsibilities that they have under the Charter of the United Nations, it will nevertheless be useful to review the scope of its use. Consideration might be given to limiting the use of the veto to recommendations or decisions on measures to be taken under Chapter VII of the Charter. The Security Council should, in any case, work on the basis of consensus as a general rule.

4. The number by which the membership of the Security Council is to be increased should be the subject of a process of consultations, and it is desirable that no particular timetable for the conclusion of this process be established.

5. In deciding on the increase in the membership of the Security Council, the following points should be taken into consideration:

(a) The present number of non-permanent members of the Council should not be reduced, if provision is made for additional permanent members;

(b) New permanent members should not have the right of veto;

(c) The increase in the size of the Council must be consistent with the overriding requirement of preserving the efficiency of the Council and its ability to take "prompt and effective action" on major crises;

(d) New permanent members must have a long-standing record of upholding, maintaining and observing the principles contained in the Charter and must be free from any impediments to their full and effective participation in carrying out their responsibilities under the Charter relating to the maintenance of international peace and security;

(e) In the light of their special responsibilities and privileged positions as permanent members, all permanent members should be collectively responsible for the bulk of the financial requirements of the Organization's regular budget, and for all its peace-keeping activities.

## FINLAND

[Original: English]

[6 July 1993]

1. The provisions of the United Nations Charter concerning the maintenance of international peace and security have retained their validity even though they were drafted half a century ago. Being invested by the Charter with the primary responsibility for the preservation of world peace, the Security Council has a central role in the Charter system of collective security. The Government of Finland recognizes and commends the active role which the Council currently plays in the maintenance of international peace and security in the true spirit of the Charter. It is in the interest of all Member States that the Council continues to work effectively and expeditiously in responding to threats to and breaches of international peace and security.

2. While stressing the need to maintain the Security Council as a body which has the capacity to take efficient and speedy action, the Government of Finland considers it both justified and useful that a discussion among the Members of the United Nations has now been launched. Should a consensus emerge on the matter, a technical amendment of the relevant Charter provisions could be made in a manner similar to the Charter amendments which entered into force in 1965, when a number of elected members of the Council was increased. It is, in the view of the Finnish Government, important to treat a change of the Charter provisions governing the composition of the Security Council as a matter *sui generis* which should not be linked to other initiatives for amending the Charter or reforming the United Nations system.

3. Under Article 24 of the Charter the Security Council in carrying out its duties acts on behalf of all Member States. The composition of the Council should therefore reflect the increase in the membership of the Organization and also take into account the new political realities which have emerged as a result of the profound changes which have taken place. The trust and confidence in the Security Council of all Members of the United Nations is a crucial factor affecting the ability of the Council to resolve conflicts and is also a prerequisite for the Council successfully to discharge its responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security.

4. A question of particular importance is whether, in the context of an increase of the overall membership of the Security Council, the status as permanent member of the Council should be accorded to one or several additional Member States. The same arguments which speak in favour of an increase of the overall membership of the Security Council are valid as regards an increase in the number of permanent members. In this context the question of enlarging also the number of Council members vested with special voting privileges - i.e., the veto power - under Article 27 will have to be addressed.

5. In addressing the questions referred to above, the Government of Finland has set as a point of departure the necessity to secure that the Security Council can discharge its responsibilities effectively and efficiently. In view of this overriding consideration any increase in the membership of the Council - whether it concerns elected or permanent members - must be kept to a minimum.

6. In determining the optimum increase in the number of members of the Security Council and the status to be accorded to them, due regard should be taken of the need to secure that the additional members are able and willing to make substantial contributions - both political and material - to the work of the Council, in particular to its peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building activities. In this regard the need for the Council increasingly to rely in its work on regional arrangements under Chapter VIII of the Charter may provide useful guidance. It would seem justified to allow the traditional regional groupings of the United Nations a greater responsibility in determining their representation on an enlarged Security Council.

7. While improving representativeness, an enlargement of the Council will inevitably entail a certain weakening in efficiency of the work of the Council. Even though the matter strictly speaking lies outside the question of a review of the composition of the Council, there would seem to be a need in this context also to review the organization and methods of work of the Council. The

question arises whether in an enlarged Council every question which is brought before the Council needs to be addressed by the full Council. In view of the exponential increase in both formal and informal meetings and consultations it might be advisable to look at the possibility of initiating a procedure under which certain questions - at least initially and in a preparatory way - could usefully be addressed by "chambers" of the Council made possible by Article 29 of the Charter. Such chambers - limited in membership - could be particularly useful as regards certain regional questions. Another set of problems for which work in chambers could prove practical is the monitoring of the implementation of sanctions. The same is true as regards activities related to preventive diplomacy, including assessment of fact-finding.

8. The work of the Council is - no doubt largely due to the enormous increase in its work - at present to a certain degree lacking in transparency. Although an increase of its membership would to some extent improve the situation, it would nevertheless seem necessary, especially as regards negotiating the mandates of peace-keeping questions, to involve to a greater extent also non-members of the Council, in particular those that are potential contributors of troops and logistical support.

9. Yet another set of issues on which the Security Council could usefully engage the cooperation of non-member States is the consideration of the special economic problems of States, arising from the implementation of sanctions imposed by the Council.

10. As stated above, the Government of Finland is of the view that the question of reviewing the composition of the Security Council is a matter sui generis which should be pursued separately from other reforms of the United Nations. It should be pursued as rapidly as possible with a view to enabling the necessary changes to take place in connection with the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations in 1995. An agreement on and conclusion of the discussion on the important issue concerning the composition of the Council would then allow the Organization at the anniversary to launch another truly visionary process of reform of the entire United Nations system focusing on improving the Organization's responsiveness to meet the many important challenges and opportunities which the twenty-first century will present to humankind.

11. Finland looks forward to the report by the Secretary-General containing comments made by Member States on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Council to be presented to the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session.

## FRANCE

[Original: French]

[30 June 1993]

1. On 11 December 1992, the General Assembly adopted its resolution 47/62 by consensus. In the preamble to the resolution, the Assembly recognized the increasingly crucial role of the Security Council in maintaining international

peace and security; recognized also the changed international situation and the substantial increase in the membership of the United Nations; reaffirmed the principle of sovereign equality of all Members of the Organization; and, mindful of Article 23 of the Charter of the United Nations, stated that it realized the need to continue the process of revitalization and restructuring of certain organs of the United Nations. The Assembly then decided to include in the provisional agenda of its forty-eighth session the item entitled "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council".

2. France notes at the outset that in recent times the functioning of the United Nations has been marked by ever more frequent recourse to action by the Security Council, the international community thus indicating that it perceives this organ as a necessary and effective instrument for maintaining peace.

3. The Security Council has, in effect, been able to resolve or to arrive at a common position on a variety of conflicts affecting international peace and security for several years now.

4. While due in part to the new climate prevailing in international relations, the Council's effectiveness is also bound up with the fact that it has a limited number of members, which permits it to achieve compromise and reach decisions reflecting as often as not a consensus agreement within the United Nations as a whole.

5. The 10 non-permanent members of the Council already ensure an equitable geographical representation of Member States, and they have contributed to the Council's primary role now at last restored to its original character. The responsibilities and duties of the permanent members of the Council are dictated both by the Charter itself and by experience and the difficulty of the tasks the Council must assume, particularly in the maintenance of international peace and security.

6. France intends to participate in the consideration of the "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council" in a spirit of openness.

7. It considers that the increase in the number of States members of the General Assembly and the political and economic changes that have taken place over the past decade do indeed prompt consideration of an enlargement of the Security Council.

8. In this respect, France is of the view that the prime dictate of effectiveness should be maintained.

9. Any contemplation of an increase in the number of permanent members must take account not only of the relative weight acquired by certain States by virtue of their level of economic development but also of their participation or willingness to participate in peace-keeping operations and the interest evinced by them in discharging global responsibilities in the field of international peace and security. Any enlargement there may be that admits new permanent members should not diminish the ability of other States in the different regions to secure representation in the Council as non-permanent members.

/...

10. The foregoing comments are those that France would like to be borne in mind in any consideration of a possible review of the membership of the Security Council.

## GABON

[Original: French]

[30 June 1993]

1. Since 1945, the year in which the United Nations was established, international relations have been profoundly influenced by two major developments, namely, decolonization and the cold war.

2. The first resulted in the emergence of new States onto the international stage and the increase in the number of countries that were Members of the United Nations.

3. The second corresponds to a period during which international life was dominated and influenced by the antagonism between two blocs of countries inspired by different ideologies.

4. Taking note of the dismantling of the colonial empires, in 1963 the General Assembly adopted an amendment to Article 23 of the Charter of the United Nations increasing the membership of the Security Council from 11 to 15.

5. This development should also be seen as a continuation of the changes which have occurred in Europe (Central and Eastern) and the changes which they have brought about in the composition of the General Assembly. It is all the more desirable in that it is likely to contribute to the ongoing process of restructuring and revitalization of certain organs of the United Nations.

6. However, an increase in the membership of the Security Council cannot help to strengthen the role of that organ in respect of the maintenance of international peace and security unless it takes the following elements into account:

(a) Respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter, specifically the sovereign equality of all Member States. This idea is reflected in the title of resolution 47/62, in the expression "equitable representation". In order to do this, the members of the Council should always be chosen on a geographical basis, according to non-discriminatory criteria;

(b) Concern for preserving the characteristics which the Charter gives to the action of the United Nations in the field of the maintenance of international peace and security, that is to say, speed and efficiency;

(c) The influence which the major Powers that were defeated in the Second World War have in international life.

7. A combination of these elements should lead to the choice of members (permanent and non-permanent) of the Security Council.

8. However, review of representation within that organ and the increase in its membership would not be sufficient to revitalize it and to adapt it to the international situation.

9. Thus these structural measures should be supplemented by others relating to the functioning of the Council.

10. Thus Article 27, paragraph 3 (concerning the affirmative vote of permanent members), could be the subject of a thorough review.

## GERMANY

[Original: English]

[30 June 1993]

1. The Federal Government of Germany has noted with great satisfaction the growing authority of the United Nations since the ending of the East-West conflict. In the view of the Federal Government, the roles which the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Security Council and the Secretary-General play in solving the major issues affecting mankind's future are in keeping with the central responsibility which has fallen to the world Organization as the only forum of action representing the international community as a whole.

2. The threat to international peace and security by regional, international and internal conflicts has not diminished since then. Therefore, the Federal Government welcomes the fact that for the first time since its establishment in 1945, the Security Council is increasingly able to carry out the mandate to assume the main responsibility for the preservation of international peace and security envisaged in Article 24 of the United Nations Charter. In this connection, the Federal Government has noted with satisfaction that in a growing number of cases a basic consensus prevails on Security Council decisions among its permanent and non-permanent members.

3. The Federal Government notes with interest that the international community has again taken up the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council. It therefore welcomes the request to the Secretary-General contained in resolution 47/62 adopted by the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session to invite States Members of the United Nations to submit their comments on this question in order that he may present to the Assembly at its forty-eighth session in the autumn of 1993 a report based on their evaluation.

4. It shares the view expressed in the resolution that the changed international situation and the steadily increasing membership of the United Nations necessitate reconsideration of the present composition of the Security Council. In the question of a possible increase in the membership of the Security Council, the Federal Government is guided by the recognition that the Council's efficiency and credibility are of equal importance for its composition.

5. When the Federal Republic of Germany acceded to membership of the United Nations, the Federal Government committed itself to exercise all rights and duties of a Member of the United Nations. It stands by this commitment. The Federal Government is gratified that a number of Member States have expressed the view that the Federal Republic of Germany should be a natural candidate for permanent membership on the Security Council. It regards this as an appreciation of its political, material, financial and personnel contribution towards preserving world peace. The Federal Government is also prepared to assume the responsibilities which permanent membership of the Security Council entails.

## GUATEMALA

[Original: Spanish]

[28 June 1993]

1. The Government of Guatemala welcomes the Secretary-General's decision to solicit comments, as requested by the General Assembly in its resolution 47/62 of 11 December 1992, on a possible review of the membership of the Security Council.

2. Guatemala believes that the question of increasing the membership of the Security Council merits an exhaustive and careful study carried out in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, thereby ensuring that any modification is acceptable to all Members of the Organization, including the current permanent members of the Security Council. However, any increase in membership must be considered in the light of the principle set out in Article 2, paragraph 1, of the Charter: "The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members".

3. Guatemala supports this view, noting that the reason cited in the past to justify increases in the number of "non-permanent members" of the Security Council was the need for that organ to reflect increases in the number of Member States. At present the United Nations has 183 Members, which means that the Organization must review and update the number of Members participating in the Council's decision-making process, thereby giving greater legitimacy to its actions by making the Council more representative. Doing so would promote the implementation of Article 24 of the Charter by ensuring that the Council acted on behalf of all Member States.

4. Guatemala believes that there is a need to review and reverse the current general trend towards a marked imbalance in the geographical distribution of seats in the major organs of the United Nations, particularly in the case of the Security Council, and notes that one regional group in particular is overrepresented. It should be stressed that, historically, the participation of geographically small countries with small populations or developing economies has been limited. For Council resolutions to be truly binding, they must reflect the position of nations both large and small, those with nuclear capacity and those without, since Council decisions must reflect the interests of all Members of the Organization.

/...

5. Guatemala is convinced that such far-reaching changes call for greater involvement on the part of all members of the international community, in keeping with the principles of responsibility and solidarity, in the maintenance of international peace and security. Accordingly, the composition of the Security Council must reflect not only the geographical distribution of the Organization's Members, but also the nature of the emerging new international order.

6. Guatemala believes that the appropriateness of retaining the system of permanent members of the Security Council must be studied. The criteria used in granting certain States permanent membership were based on historical events and the military and nuclear capacities of the States in question. It must be determined whether those criteria remain valid or whether there are other criteria, including active support for major economic and social development efforts and respect for commitments made in the field of economic cooperation for development under General Assembly resolutions and declarations, which might lead to a change in one of the permanent members of the Council and thus bring that body's membership into line with current historical realities.

7. Guatemala supports the effort of various developing countries to ensure greater representation of their regional groups by seeking an increase in the number of seats that would let those countries play their rightful leading role in contemporary international relations. Increasing the number of "non-permanent" members of the Security Council is thus necessary and must strictly observe the principle of equitable geographical distribution which allows large and small countries to participate on an equal footing.

8. Guatemala considers that, in addition to its membership, the Council's methods of work and decision-making processes must also be reviewed.

9. The right of veto is, in Guatemala's view, an institution which is contrary to democratic principles and stands in direct opposition to the sovereign equality of States. While the Council's decision-making process is set out in the Charter, this process must be revised by eliminating the veto or, failing that, by taking decisions to regulate its use, thereby making it impossible for any one permanent member to prevent the Council from adopting resolutions or decisions.

10. Guatemala also believes that the Council's methods of work must be reviewed and that its system of consultations must be made more transparent, taking into account the prevailing views of the Organization's Members, particularly the developing countries. There is also a need to improve the Council's relations with other organs, particularly the General Assembly, which in the past has confined itself to receiving brief summaries of matters considered by the Council. The Assembly must be allowed to play the role which by definition is its own.

11. Guatemala is of the view that creating a new category of permanent members that lack the right of veto constitutes an infringement of the principle of the sovereign equality of States and would limit the right to participate as members of the Security Council, to which all Members of the United Nations are entitled to aspire.

12. It is important to note that the Security Council must at all times encourage and support efforts by States to solve, either jointly or separately, the problems that face them and must promote the utilization of mechanisms conducive to the peaceful settlement of disputes as the best means of solving the political, economic and social problems facing the world.

13. The involvement of the Security Council in the solution of disputes between or within States that can jeopardize international peace and security is limited and of a finite duration. Its purpose is to foster the development of mutual trust between the parties to the conflict so that they can find the best means of preserving peace and security at the national, regional and international levels.

## HONDURAS

[Original: Spanish]

[24 June 1993]

1. Honduras, a founding member of the United Nations committed to the norms and principles of international law, particularly with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, one of the Security Council's basic tasks, fully agrees with the idea of enlarging the Security Council to make it more democratic.

2. The restructuring of the Security Council through its expansion and democratization should take account of the present membership of the United Nations, bearing in mind the need for equitable regional distribution. The reform process should also provide for smoother functioning and more effective decision-making in which all Members of the United Nations participate in a representative way through their regional representatives. Regional representation should therefore be ensured as regards both permanent membership and non-permanent membership, laying emphasis on the idea of interdependence.

3. Our country considers that the Security Council should be enlarged in terms of both permanent and non-permanent members and that a study should be undertaken of the right of veto currently enjoyed by the five permanent members.

4. Honduras considers that the changes in the present structure and size of the Security Council should be accompanied by a corresponding amendment of the Charter of the United Nations so as to ensure that the changes bring about greater transparency in the Security Council's activities and decision-making.

## INDIA

[Original: English]

[29 June 1993]

1. The capacity to adapt to changing circumstances is essential to preserve effectiveness of any organization. The framers of the Charter of the United

Nations were aware of this need, and provided for it in Chapter XVIII. It is India's conviction and assessment that the United Nations should be restructured and relations between the different agencies of the United Nations should be redefined taking into account the changing political scene. The Security Council should be expanded to respond to the concerns of the United Nations membership.

2. In 1945, the General Assembly had 51 members. At the time, the Security Council had a total of 11 members, which included 5 permanent and 6 non-permanent members. In 1963, when the strength of the General Assembly was 113, the Security Council membership was expanded from 11 to 15. Since then, the membership of the Assembly has gone up to 183. The ratio between the Security Council membership and the General Assembly membership has declined from 1:4.6 in 1945 to 1:12 today. Though the 1963 amendment increased the total number of Security Council seats to 15, the number of permanent seats was not increased; it has remained frozen at five since the inception of the Council. Thus, there has been a particularly steep fall in the ratio between the number of permanent members and the General Assembly membership, which has declined from 1:10 in 1945 to 1:36 today. This aspect especially needs to be redressed now. India is of the view that the number of permanent members of the Security Council should be increased to 10 or 11 and the non-permanent members to 12 or 14.

3. The General Assembly, in resolution 47/62, recognized the increasingly crucial role of the Security Council in maintaining international peace and security in the changed international situation. With the end of the cold war, the Council is no longer fettered by the ideological wrangling of the past and has begun to play a more effective role in dealing with situations relating to international peace and security. There has been a dramatic increase in the activities of the Council. These have wide-ranging implications for the Member States and necessitate a great degree of participation of the overall membership of the United Nations in the decisions taken by the Council. To achieve these objectives, a more balanced and expanded representation for the Members of the United Nations in the Council is unavoidable.

4. The argument that considerations of efficiency necessitate a freezing of the size of the Council is to be weighed against the fact that unity of purpose, rather than size, is the factor determining the efficiency of the Organization.

5. India is of the view that the review in question should be undertaken on the basis of equitable regional representation, consistency in support for, and participation in, important political and economic activities and peace-keeping operations of the United Nations; and consistency in fulfilling financial obligations towards the United Nations and the specialized institutions. For selecting additional States in an expanded Security Council, population, size of the economy and future potential of the countries concerned should also be taken into account.

6. Population represents both an expression of the principle of democracy and an element of power. With increasing emphasis on the principle of democracy at the national level, there is a need for extending this principle to the international level also. The present permanent members of the Security Council have a combined population of less than 1.75 billion. This leaves two thirds of

the world's population without representation in the permanent members' category. Population, combined with rising levels of literacy and growing industrialization, is also an element of power.

7. Size of economy, its resilience and self-sufficiency in terms of raw material supply and markets are factors which have a bearing on a particular country's ability to exercise independence of judgement and action on international issues. This, in turn, is an important consideration in deciding permanent member status.

8. A Member State's contribution to peace-keeping operations of the United Nations would be an important criterion in judging its suitability for inclusion in the permanent members' category. Financial contribution and support to United Nations activities need also to be considered. Here, it is important to bear in mind not just the financial contribution in absolute terms, but also in relative terms. For a country with low per capita income, assessed contribution as per the United Nations scale may entail proportionately higher sacrifice. The record of timely payment should also be taken into account.

9. History has witnessed ebb and flow in the power of nations. This is more true today than ever before. Not only is change taking place, but the pace has quickened. The interregnum between the present and the future is getting shorter and shorter. It is, therefore, essential to take into account both the present and future dimensions of power. Future potential as a criterion for inclusion among permanent members of the Security Council is not a new principle. This indeed has been an important consideration in making the choice of permanent members in the past.

10. The growing interdependence of the world is reflected in many spheres. Problems of poverty and environment cannot be tackled without cooperation by both the developed and the developing countries. These concerns are indeed reflected in the agenda of the world body, which is no longer confined to the traditional issues of world politics. The principles of interdependence must be recognized and reflected in the composition of the Security Council by accommodating developing countries in the permanent members' category.

11. The imperative necessity of reviewing the membership of the Security Council is evident, is politically of great significance and is unambiguously articulated in General Assembly resolution 47/62 of the Charter. It can be given effect by amending Articles 23, paragraph 1, and 27. The modalities of functioning of the new permanent members could be discussed further.

12. In the interest of equity, whatever arrangement is evolved for the new permanent members should be uniformly applied to new entrants to this category from all regions. The choice of additional States to be selected for the permanent members' category should emerge from decision of the General Assembly and the Security Council as provided for in the Charter. All Member States should be given an opportunity to exercise their choice of new permanent members of the Security Council, collectively in the General Assembly, as responsibilities of permanent members go beyond a region or subregion. The principle of rotation is already embodied in the non-permanent members' category, which indeed needs to be expanded along with an increase in the number of permanent members. Therefore, this principle need not be replicated with the

introduction of permanent membership on a rotational basis. This would compromise the element of predictability in the decision-making of the Security Council and further accentuate the inequities of the present structure.

13. The views of the Government of India regarding the countries that could be considered for inclusion in the expanded permanent membership of the Security Council would be communicated at a later date.

## IRELAND

[Original: English]

[30 June 1993]

1. Much has changed in our world since 1945, including the realities of political and economic power. The new climate in international relations and the new demands being made of the Organization indicate that a critical examination of the structure of the United Nations is timely. In the general debate at the forty-seventh session of the United Nations is timely. In the general debate at the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly, a majority of speakers mentioned some aspect of reform and over 40 speakers addressed the issue of Security Council reform. The question was addressed as follows by the Foreign Minister of Ireland on 25 September 1992:

> "I know that reform of the United Nations - and, in particular, of the Security Council - is a sensitive issue that touches the very essence of post-war international cooperation. But, after almost 50 years it is reasonable to ask if the structures and methods of work agreed upon then correspond fully with contemporary realities - with the growing, and now almost universal, membership of the United Nations; with the Organization's new tasks; and with the great changes that have taken place in economic and political relations.
>
> "The time has come to take up these issues frankly here - within the United Nations itself. We can only profit from such a discussion. Our aim should be to ensure that the decisions of the Organization are truly authoritative and representative of the will of the entire international community" (see A/47/PV.13).

2. By virtue of Article 24 of the Charter of the United Nations, Member States confer on the Security Council the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security on the basis that in carrying out its task in this regard, the Council acts on behalf of the membership as a whole. This implies that the Council, when acting on behalf of the entire United Nations membership, is and ought to be seen to be representative of the membership as a whole. Otherwise its legitimacy may be diminished. The fact that Council membership has not increased over a 30-year period, during which the general membership of the Organization has grown by almost 60 per cent, leaves little room for doubt that the Security Council is now less representative than it has been at any other stage in its history. Accordingly, any review of Security Council membership should take into account the need to ensure its adequate representativity.

3. Making the Security Council more representative should not be viewed as a goal in itself but rather as a means to an end. The purpose of trying to make the Council more representative, as far as Ireland is concerned, is to enable it to act with the necessary authority and legitimacy to carry out the expanded role demanded of it in the new international political climate.

4. In regard to legitimacy, it is important to recall not only the provisions of Article 24 of the Charter, under which the Council acts on behalf of the membership, but equally those of Article 25, which provide that the Members agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Council. This implies a readiness to implement and bear the consequences, political and economic, of those decisions. It is essential therefore that the decisions of the Security Council be universally regarded as legitimate, if Member States are to carry them out willingly and with the support of their peoples.

5. The effective functioning of the Council and its decision-making process is an equally important element in this respect and deserves close consideration.

6. The Charter determines that the Security Council must be effective in the discharge of its duties. It is specific on this point when it provides, in Article 24, paragraph 1, that the purpose of conferring responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security on the Security Council is "in order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations". Ireland remains firmly committed to this principle and is satisfied that a limited increase in membership need not impair the Council's efficiency. Such an increase would add to the overall ability of the Council to act with firmness and authority. The increasing demands for change in the composition of the Security Council arise from the expansion of the activities of the United Nations. They reflect a desire on the part of the membership as a whole to be closely involved and represented in the decision-making process of a newly invigorated United Nations.

7. It is Ireland's considered view, therefore, that change in the structure and procedure of the Security Council should be achieved on the following basis:

(a) The growth in membership and the changed world political environment require that the Security Council should be examined to ensure that it can respond to the new and enhanced role now required of the United Nations. In particular, there is a strong case for an increase in membership of the Council to ensure both representativity and legitimacy;

(b) The examination of the increased membership of the Council should, in the view of Ireland, deal with an expansion of the permanent membership of the Council, taking account of the capacity of the members to contribute to international peace and security, the need for equitable geographical distribution, including increased representation for developing countries, and voting arrangements in the Council;

(c) It is essential that the Security Council retain its effectiveness, and any increase in membership must take this into consideration. This would imply a modest increase in membership.

8. Ireland considers that if the process of review proceeds on the basis of ensuring representativity, legitimacy and effectiveness, there is every reason to believe that the Security Council which emerges from that process will be a considerably strengthened one, better equipped to meet the challenges ahead.

## ITALY

[Original: English]

[30 June 1993]

1. Italy is aware of the need to improve the effectiveness of the Security Council to deal with the ever-greater demands being placed on it in the present phase in the life of the international community. But it is equally convinced that its effectiveness must be consistent with its representativeness, and that every effort must be deployed to enhance the structure of the Security Council in terms of the criteria enshrined in Article 23 of the Charter of the United Nations. This Article provides that due regard should be paid, in the first instance, to the contribution of Member States to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization. Italy has repeatedly expressed this conviction in the past. It should be recalled that the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Emilio Colombo, reiterated and clarified the indications made by Italy on previous occasions, when he emphasized the need to reform certain aspects of the Charter, including the composition of the Security Council.

2. Italy is convinced that ways of guaranteeing the authority and the broader representativeness of the Security Council must be rethought in broad and innovative conceptual terms, in this difficult but stimulating moment in international life. For we are not insensitive to the new times, the emergence of new roles and situations on the international stage, the need to ensure that the contributions, the new stimuli, the new equilibria and the great economic potential that is now emerging can be adequately represented in the main decision-making body of the United Nations, which must of necessity reflect the development of international society. We also believe that the present debate will provide us with the opportunity to embark on a wide-ranging and constructive process of adjustment of the composition of the Council to the new conditions and responsibilities.

3. The most effective way of attaining these ends could be to divide the seats of the Security Council into three categories:

(a) First, the group of permanent members with the right of veto, having a mainly historical basis, which would remain intact, for we are convinced that this right is now being superseded in practice, and is used on extremely rare occasions, while consensus is being increasingly sought nowadays, and this trend must be encouraged;

(b) This group should be joined, through an appropriate enlargement of the Council, by a second group comprising about 10 seats for States in all five continents which make the greatest contribution towards the purposes of the Organization. This could be gauged in terms of the financial support they might contribute, or on account of their large dimensions, population size and efficient internal organization, enabling them to guarantee effective support in terms of manpower, military or otherwise, or because of the high level of their cultural contribution and their advanced mass media technology, enabling them to marshall strong public support for the Organization. These States, which should not number more than about 20, would revolve in twos as members of the Council, thereby guaranteeing a semi-permanent presence;

(c) Finally, the third category should comprise the other States grouped into vast geographic constituencies, appropriately rotating to fill the remaining seats.

Altogether, the Council would have between 20 and 25 members. Allowance would also have to be made for developments in international society, and hence the possibility of groups of States being formed or existing groups breaking up. For example, the day on which the European Union comes into being with a strong political identity of its own, the problem will arise regarding the position it will be given in the Security Council.

4. As Italy has already indicated in the past, what must be preserved are the purposes of the Charter which will always remain essential. But in a world that has changed radically since 1945 and is changing today at an even greater pace than ever before, it has become essential to act boldly to renew instruments and ideas, and the composition of governing bodies. It is only thanks to this beneficial tension between its permanent aims and new instruments, to which all of us must contribute, that we shall be capable of taking up the challenges of our age. Italy is also convinced that a reform of the Council along the lines indicated above would fit in fully with the principles enshrined in the Charter and underpin its democratic nature, authority and representativeness.

* * *

Should it be decided to increase the number of permanent members, Italy feels entitled to be one of them, on the basis of its record as one of the major contributors to the United Nations and to the peace-keeping operations decided on by the Security Council.

## JAPAN

[Original: English]

[6 July 1993]

### Role of the United Nations in a changing international context

1. With the end of the cold war, international relations are no longer constrained by East-West confrontation based on ideology and huge stockpiles of armaments: the search for a harmonious world order is under way. On the other hand, there has been a significant change in the relationship among the major Powers which sustained the old order. In these circumstances, a number of new regional rivalries, particularly those of ethnic and religious origin, which had been held in check by the cold-war structure have now erupted into conflict,

posing a threat to international peace and security. At the same time, such global issues as the environment, poverty, refugees and overpopulation are becoming more and more acute. These are non-military destabilizing elements which threaten the existence of humankind.

2. These new challenges of the present age, such as ensuring international peace and security and tackling global issues, cannot be addressed by individual States; they can be resolved only through coordinated, multilateral efforts based on a comprehensive approach that includes not only political and military, but also economic and other factors. The United Nations is the only universal Organization which can provide a forum for undertaking such an approach; thus the international community has come to have high expectations of the Organization.

3. If the United Nations is to meet those expectations in this new international situation, it is important that it:

- serve as a mechanism for providing a better framework for international efforts to build a new order in the wake of the cold war;
- reflect recent changes in the international situation so that it can better represent the general will of the Member States;
- further strengthen its capacity to cope effectively with the problems of peace and security and the problems common to humankind;
- further strengthen its efforts to promote social progress and better standards of life;
- endeavour to promote the diversion of the world's human and economic resources from the military to other purposes;
- be better equipped, in terms of both human and financial resources, to play a role in various areas, including such new areas mentioned above;
- strengthen cooperation among all bodies within the United Nations system, and cooperate with other international institutions or regional organizations.

## Implications for the Security Council

4. As a non-permanent member, Japan has been participating in the work of the Security Council since January 1992, actively contributing to international peace and security. Japan recognizes that circumstances are developing in such a way as to enable the Council, which has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, to discharge its mandate effectively. The increased number of meetings and consultations it holds and resolutions it adopts, as well as the dramatic decrease in the use of veto, testify to this.

/...

5. According to Article 24 of the Charter of the United Nations, Member States have entrusted to the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security; the Council is expected to act on behalf of all Member States in carrying out its responsibility. In view of this mandate of the Council, as well as its authority to make decisions which legally bind Member States, the legitimacy and credibility of its actions will be enhanced to the extent they accurately reflect the general will of the Member States.

6. The functions of the Security Council should be further strengthened. The Council should provide a forum where a comprehensive approach to issues concerning world peace and security can be taken. In this sense, those countries that are clearly capable of assuming responsibility for the implementation of its resolutions, for example, by making financial contributions, should be more actively involved in the decision-making process so as to ensure that the resolutions the Council adopts are in fact implemented.

7. The Council should be restructured based on the above-mentioned considerations. In particular, it is important that those countries having both the will and the adequate capacity to contribute to world peace and stability be actively engaged; this being the case, the Security Council and, in the end, the United Nations as a whole, will be certainly strengthened. In this context, Japan is prepared to do all it can to discharge its responsibilities on the Security Council.

8. Among the issues the Security Council will be expected to address, the question of "peace dividends" is of particular importance. As part of its efforts in the maintenance of international peace and security, the Council should strengthen its commitment to arms control and disarmament with a view to promoting the diversion of the world's human and economic resources away from armaments to other purposes (cf. Article 26 of the Charter).

## Specific recommendations for restructuring the Security Council

9. In view of the foregoing, it is essential that the membership of the Security Council be adequately enlarged, provided that the effective functioning of the Council will not be impaired. Specifically, the Council should be enlarged to have around 20 members at most, by adding to the current permanent members a certain number of permanent and non-permanent seats in an appropriate ratio. In so doing, special consideration should be given to the question of equitable geographical distribution in relation to non-permanent membership.

10. The efforts to enlarge the membership of the Council should be guided by the principle that underlies paragraph 1 of Article 23 of the Charter, more specifically:

(a) The primary criteria for membership on the Security Council should be the will and the capability of the Member State to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and stability;

(b) It must be borne in mind that issues of peace and stability today must be considered in close relation to economic and other non-military factors;

(c) As regards the permanent membership, consideration should be given to whether the weight that the Member State in question carries is global in political, economic and other terms.

11. Further, a consultative process on an ad hoc basis involving major Member States not represented on the Security Council should be encouraged in conjunction with the Council's decision-making. Thus the transparency in the Council's decision-making process would be enhanced.

### Action to be taken at the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly

12. Building on the views expressed by Member States, the General Assembly should proceed to further concrete consideration of the issue of restructuring the Security Council through appropriate means among Member States. It is desirable that discussions be accelerated, with a view to reaching a conclusion in 1995.

## MADAGASCAR

[Original: French]

[10 June 1993]

1. The Government of Madagascar considers that increasing the membership of the Security Council is a necessity based on democratization, transparency and the increase by more than a third in the number of Members of the United Nations since the last increase in the membership of the Council. Such increase would also help to achieve the goal of an equitable geographical distribution in that body.

2. In addition, the Government of Madagascar proposes that the new members of the Council should be elected by regional group and by rotation.

3. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Madagascar assures the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the wholehearted cooperation of the Government of Madagascar in efforts in this area.

## MALAYSIA

[Original: English]

[28 June 1993]

### I. INTRODUCTION

1. Since the United Nations came into existence 47 years ago, the world has undergone tremendous changes. There is a widespread search at all levels for new equations and structures to cope with the changing international environment. The United Nations itself must be part of the change in order that the world Organization can be the focal point for the management of critical

global issues of our time and a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of common ends.

2. The reform and restructuring exercise of the United Nations in the economic and social and related fields has been making some encouraging progress following the adoption of General Assembly resolution 45/264. In addition, there is also an ongoing exercise in revitalizing and restructuring the work of the General Assembly. Against the background of all those changes, it becomes undeniable that the Security Council too must change and adapt. Reform in the Council is necessary not only to reflect a more equitable geographical representation but also to contribute to the strengthening of the democratization process within the United Nations system, in particular in the Security Council.

3. It is interesting to note that this issue of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Council was first introduced in the agenda of the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session 13 years ago. In all these years there has never been any substantive debate on this item. The general debate at the forty-seventh session of the Assembly last year, which led to the adoption of resolution 47/62 on this item, marks a qualitative change with direct bearing on the changed perspective and attitude with regard to the structure of the Security Council.

## II. REVIEW OF THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

4. Pursuant to paragraph 1 of General Assembly resolution 47/62, the Government of Malaysia would like to submit its views on the review of the membership of the Security Council.

### A. The membership of the Security Council should be expanded in keeping with the significant increase in the total of United Nations Members (183)

5. As a result of the dramatic increase in the membership of the United Nations over the past several years, the Security Council is becoming less representative of the general membership - the ratio of the total number of States to the number of Council seats from 5:1 in 1945 to 8:1 in 1963, when the Council underwent its one and only restructuring, to 12:1 now in 1993. In other words, only 8 per cent of the general membership is now represented by the Council compared to 20 per cent in 1945. This situation touches on the basic mandate and representational nature of the Council as contained in Article 24 of the Charter of the United Nations.

6. The membership of the Security Council therefore needs to be expanded in order to be more representative and in keeping with the significant increase in the membership of the United Nations to 183.

### B. The membership of the non-permanent members of the Security Council should be expanded to reflect equitable geographical representation

7. The current membership structure of the Council is not consistent with Article 23, paragraph 1, of the Charter, which requires the Council to consider, *inter alia*, equitable geographical distribution in the elections of its non-permanent members which, as currently constituted, has too many from the European/Western groups, at the expense of other regions.

8. The significant increase in the total membership of the United Nations and the end of the cold war and East-West ideological rivalry, which in reality brought about a single Europe rather than Western and Eastern Europe, have in fact distorted the distribution of the Council seats to the benefit of European/Western countries, which have four permanent members and three non-permanent members (7 out of 15 Council members). For instance, the ratio of the average number of countries in a region represented by one permanent seat in the Council reveals that currently the ratio is 24:1 for Asia; 17:1 for Africa and Latin America; 12:1 for Western Europe and others; and 11:1 for Eastern Europe. (See the table below.)

Equity distribution ratio of number of countries represented by one non-permanent seat in each region

| Year | Asia | Africa | Latin America | Western Europe | Eastern Europe | Eastern/Western European Group combined |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1963 (last expansion | 1:12 | 1:11 | 1:10 | 1:10 | 1:9 | 1:10 |
| 1993 (present position) | 1:24 | 1:17 | 1:17 | 1:12 | 1:11 | 1:12 |

9. In addition, the European/Western group of countries is overrepresented in the Council, holding four out of five permanent memberships. All in all, the European/Western group of countries with 37 members has seven members in the Council, whereas the rest of the 133 members from Asia, Africa and Latin America have to share the remaining seven seats on the Council, excluding one permanent seat held by China.

10. Therefore, it is the view of the Government of Malaysia that in order to balance the overrepresentation of the European/Western countries and to provide an equitable distribution ratio among the various geographical regions, the

membership of the non-permanent members should be increased by an additional 10 seats, according to the following distribution:

(a) Asia (47) - 4 seats

(b) Africa (52) - 4 seats

(c) Latin America (34) - 2 seats

## C. Permanent members

11. If the Security Council is to be the nucleus for a collective world authority with increasing powers of enforcement in all aspects contained in Chapter VII of the Charter, there must be a redefinition of what constitutes eligibility of a permanent membership in the future. In this regard, the general membership of the United Nations, inter alia, will have to address the following questions:

(a) Which countries should be accepted as new permanent members among the new economic Powers?

(b) What should be the basis and criteria of eligibility for countries in the South to be admitted as permanent members?

12. In considering the expansion of the membership of the Security Council, Malaysia has serious reservations about the idea of increasing the number of permanent members. However, we are prepared to consider the idea of establishing a third category of membership as semi-permanent members, electable for a period of five to six years, without the veto right.

## D. The veto powers enjoyed by the permanent membership should be abolished

13. In the long term, consistent with many changes that are taking place around the world, a new mechanism that would abolish the vetoing power now enjoyed by the permanent members of the Security Council needs to be introduced.

14. The victorious Powers of 1945 which accorded themselves special privileges as permanent members are no longer the exclusive pre-eminent Powers, as other new centres of power have since emerged.

15. An assessment of utilization of veto power would indicate that the veto is being used in support of partisan and national interest rather than in defence of issues and principles and in the interest of the international community. Since the inception of the United Nations in 1945, a total of 280 vetoes were exercised by the permanent members of the Security Council, as follows:

| | No. of vetoes |
|---|---|
| Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Russian Federation) | 124 (1) |
| United States of America | 82 |
| United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | 33 |
| China | 22 |
| France | 18 |

The recourse to the veto in most of the above cases tarnished the veto mechanism.

16. Before any final decision on the abolishment of veto power is made, ideas such as the one suggested by the Netherlands should be closely examined. In order to restrict any abuse of the privilege of veto, the Netherlands suggested the adoption of a double veto, i.e., two negative votes by permanent members being required to veto a decision instead of one. The bottom line is that no country, however powerful, should arbitrarily stand in the path of collective needs as determined by the general membership of the United Nations.

17. In the meantime, the idea of a veto has amplified the dominant role of the permanent members of the Security Council, turning them out to be an exclusive group which has diminished the role of non-permanent members. The threat of a veto on recent occasions has been utilized to stymie worthwhile initiatives of other members of the Security Council.

18. The Secretary-General in his report "An Agenda for Peace" underlined that "a genuine sense of consensus deriving from shared interests must govern its work, not the threat of the veto or the power of any group of nations. And it follows that agreement among the permanent members must have the deeper support of the other members of the Council, and the membership more widely, if the Council's decisions are to be effective and endure" (A/47/277-S/24111, para. 78). He added that "the principles of the Charter must be applied consistently, not selectively, for if the perception should be of the latter, trust will wane and with it the moral authority which is the greatest and most unique quality of that instrument ... Trust also requires a sense of confidence that the world Organization will react swiftly, surely and impartially and that it will not be debilitated by political opportunism or by administrative or financial inadequacy" (ibid., paras. 82 and 83). Yet, in the case of the situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina certain permanent members of the Council have obviously not heeded the advice of the Secretary-General, and the Council, as a result, has acted neither promptly nor effectively as stipulated in Article 24 of the Charter.

## III. CONCLUSION

19. While we recognize that the task before us is not going to be easy, we feel it is imperative for the Security Council, like other organs of the United Nations system, to adapt to the changing circumstances in order to enhance its credibility, integrity, moral authority and overall acceptability.

20. The United Nations will be 50 years old in 1995 and that occasion should manifest a qualitative change of the old United Nations to a new vibrant United Nations, with universally accepted premises. The Secretary-General, in his report "An Agenda for Peace", expressed his earnest hope "that the present phase in the renewal of this Organization should be complete by 1995, its fiftieth anniversary" (A/47/277-S/24111, para. 85). The necessary changes of the Security Council should begin firmly by that year, including those related to the work of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization, to undertake preparation of studies regarding the elimination and modification of special privileges enjoyed by the permanent members of the Security Council.

21. We also hope that the process of enlargement of the Security Council would subsequently be accompanied by a close and objective scrutiny of the rules of procedure and functioning of the Council itself to address some of the tendencies and practices which run counter to the norms and principles of accountability, transparency and democracy.

## MAURITIUS

[Original: English]

[16 June 1993]

### Guidelines and principles

1. The end of the cold war and momentous changes in the world have brought the objective of restructuring the United Nations within reach. While this remains by no means an easy task, the increasing responsibility being assumed by the United Nations in the political, social and economic fields has led member States to call for both organizational and directional changes in the priorities of the Organization. A consensus is emerging on the need for further democratization and transparency within the Organization, particularly at the level of the Security Council.

2. In putting forward its views and proposals on the restructuring of the Security Council, Mauritius has based itself on the following main factors, among others:

(a) The drastic change in polarity of international relations, that is, the disappearance of the divide that had hitherto characterized inter-State relationships;

(b) The increase in the membership of the United Nations;

(c) The multipolar regrouping of the world more in terms of economic and socio-cultural perspectives than in terms of political affinities.

3. The continuous call on the United Nations to address itself more and more to such important matters as peace-keeping, peacemaking and, indeed, conflict prevention as well as emergency humanitarian assistance in diverse afflicted regions of the world makes it more than imperative for an equitable representation of the international community on the Security Council to prevail.

4. The enlargement of the membership of the Security Council is therefore a legitimate proposal that would render the system more transparent and democratic, thereby maintaining its dynamism in the light of the changes that have occurred in the world. A revamped Security Council needs to emerge to adapt itself to the changed environment and be seem as more representative of the world community.

5. In this perspective, therefore, Mauritius would like to propose that any new configuration for the Security Council should be based on the following principles:

(a) The functional effectiveness of the Security Council should not be impaired by too large a membership;

(b) It should be widely representative of the regional distribution of Members in the United Nations;

(c) It should be the product of as large a consensus as possible to preserve its credibility.

Proposals

(a) That the total membership of the Security Council be raised to 21;

(b) That the number of permanent members be increased from five to 12, i.e., on a continental basis it would be as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Americas | 2 |
| Western Europe and Other States Group | 4 |
| Eastern Europe | 1 |
| Africa | 2 |
| Asia | 3 |
| Total | 12 |

6. It should be noted that at present Latin America and Africa are not represented as permanent members.

7. The seven additional new permanent members will not have veto power as against the existing five permanent members.

/...

8. In the light of the above, the elected non-permanent members may be reduced to nine. The geographical distribution may be as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Africa and Asia | 4 |
| Eastern Europe | 2 |
| Latin America and the Caribbean | 2 |
| Western Europe and Other States Group | 1 |
| Total | 9 |

9. The distribution of non-permanent members as contrasted against the earlier one can be justified as follows:

(a) Africa and Asia, which constitute the largest group of countries, are at present underrepresented in the Council;

(b) The increase in the Eastern Europe Group matches the increase in the number of countries in that group following the end of the cold war and breakdown of the USSR;

(c) The Western European and Other States Group is provided one seat as it already would be represented on a permanent basis by four States.

10. The enlargement of the Security Council will eventually give the opportunity to this body to have more meaningful and democratic debates on major issues with less bias and more pragmatism.

## MEXICO

[Original: Spanish]

[1 June 1993]

1. As a sponsor of General Assembly resolution 47/62 of 11 December 1992, the Government of Mexico welcomes the decision by the Secretary-General to consult Member States as provided for in paragraph 1 of that resolution. The Government of Mexico believes that any action taken on this item must be carefully thought out and conform strictly to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, so as to ensure that any amendments that may be adopted have the general agreement of the States Members of the Organization, including the five permanent members of the Security Council.

2. It is in this spirit and out of a desire to make a constructive contribution to this process that the Government of Mexico transmits the following comments on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council, which outline its main concerns in this regard.

## General considerations

3. In 1963, the main reason for increasing the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council from 6 to 10 was the need to reflect in the Council the increase in the number of States Members of the United Nations. The Member States now number 183 and the composition of the Security Council must be altered so as to strike a balance between the membership of the Council and that of the Organization as a whole.

4. According to paragraph 1 of Article 24 of the Charter, the Council, in carrying out its duties, acts on behalf of all the Member States. The Council's composition must therefore be more representative if the legitimacy of its action is not to be eroded.

5. The increase in the membership of the United Nations has resulted in an imbalance in the geographical distribution of non-permanent seats on the Council, creating an unfair situation in which one regional group in particular is overrepresented, to the detriment of participation by countries from other regional groups.

6. The composition of the Security Council must be truly representative of the entire membership of the United Nations, both numerically and geographically, in order to avoid placing one group of States at an advantage.

7. In addition, the dramatic changes witnessed world wide in recent years have caused new players to emerge whose responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security should be made commensurate with the influence they wield in international relations.

8. Lastly, together with altering the composition of the Security Council, its functioning and working methods must be reviewed so that, independently of the guarantees provided in the Charter and in the Council's provisional rules of procedure for the participation of non-permanent members in Council decision-making and deliberations, the extent to which non-permanent members really participate in and influence these processes is increased. Communication between the Security Council and the other principal organs of the United Nations must also be improved.

## Composition

9. In view of the increase in the membership of the United Nations, consideration should be given to the advisability of broadening the composition of the Security Council to make it more representative, bearing in mind that any numerical increase in the Council's membership should be such as to enable it to discharge its duties expeditiously and effectively.

10. The criteria for Security Council membership set forth in paragraph 1 of Article 23 of the Charter remain valid. The criterion of Members' contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security should be interpreted broadly and should not refer only to the contribution of troops to United Nations peace-keeping operations or to collective action authorized by the Security Council. At the same time, any review of these criteria will have to be carried out on the understanding that the composition of the Council must

reflect equitable geographical distribution, both in the allocation of non-permanent seats and in the Council's overall composition.

11. The composition of the Security Council must take into account the emergence of new players, the transformation of the international agenda and the new nature of relations among groups of countries. In order to be able to reflect this new reality in the Council's composition, the possibility of creating other categories and procedures for participation in the Council could be considered. The Council's composition must, in any case, be representative of global and regional interests.

## Functioning and working methods

12. Ever since 1945, the Government of Mexico has regarded the veto as an undemocratic institution, even though its existence is recognized in the Charter. Accordingly, Mexico believes that new ways must be considered of regulating the exercise of the veto so that no permanent member on its own can block the Council's decisions and resolutions.

13. In addition to reviewing the composition of the Council, thorough consideration must be given to improving its working methods and its relations with other organs, particularly the General Assembly. Accordingly, the idea that the Council is answerable to the entire membership of the United Nations, by virtue of paragraph 3 of Article 24 of the Charter, must be reinforced.

14. The annual report which that provision requires the Security Council to submit to the General Assembly must be more than just a list of facts; it must contain a substantiated analysis of the decisions taken by the Council on each issue. In addition, one way of strengthening relations with the General Assembly might be for the Council to submit reports more frequently (quarterly) to the Assembly for consideration, without prejudice to the annual or special reports referred to in paragraph 3 of Article 24 of the Charter. A mechanism should also be established, perhaps including the appointment of a special rapporteur of the Security Council, to ensure full compliance with the provisions of that Article.

15. Now that the obstacles which paralysed the Security Council for so long have been removed, the time has come to adopt definitive rules of procedure.

16. Although increasingly frequent use is being made of the mechanisms provided by the Charter to ensure that the Security Council assumes its peace-keeping responsibilities, this does not alter the fact that the primary obligation in this regard is the duty of Member States to settle their disputes by peaceful means. Any change in the Security Council would require improving existing mechanisms for the peaceful settlement of disputes and devising such new ones as may be necessary.

17. Furthermore, particular attention should be paid to ensuring respect for the competence which the Charter assigns to each of the principal organs of the United Nations, especially the functions entrusted to the General Assembly as regards the maintenance of international peace and security. A balance must be struck between the General Assembly and the Security Council in the discharge of functions in this sphere.

/...

18. The process of reflection which began with resolution 47/62 must be pursued and expanded by holding consultations within the framework of the General Assembly, the object being to prepare the launching of a process of amendment of the Charter to coincide with the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Organization.

## NEPAL

[Original: English]

[7 July 1993]

1. A virtual consensus has emerged around the view that a fundamentally altered climate of international relations and the growing demands on the Organization require a critical examination of the composition, structure and functions of the main organs of the United Nations.

2. The increased demand for United Nations attention and action is most visible in the area of the maintenance of international peace and security. The issue of possible review of the membership of the Security Council touches on the very essence of post-cold war international relations. As we approach the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, it is reasonable to ask whether the present composition of the Council corresponds to contemporary realities.

3. Under Article 24 of the Charter of the United Nations, Member States have conferred on the Security Council the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The provision of Article 24, however, is based on the understanding that in carrying out its tasks, the Council acts on behalf of the membership as a whole. This introduces the fundamental democratic principle of representativeness of the Council. In acting on behalf of the membership, the Security Council must be, and be seen to be, representative of the entire membership of the Organization. The membership of the Council has not increased in 30 years while membership of the Organization, during the same period, has grown by almost 60 per cent. A limited increase in membership of the Security Council would, therefore, reflect the increased membership of the United Nations in the past years while, at the same time, ensuring its capacity to undertake its mission effectively and promptly.

4. The prevailing collegial spirit in the Security Council is a welcome phenomenon. This spirit has enabled the Council to act rapidly and decisively on some of the issues in recent years. There are important proposals, including those in the report of the Secretary-General entitled "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277-S/24111), to further enhance the mandate of the Council to enable it to meet new challenges to international peace and security. Matching transparency in function and representativeness in composition are important if the Council is to fulfil the heightened expectations.

5. Support for a review of the membership of the Security Council arises out of expansion in the general membership of the United Nations and expansion in the activities of the United Nations, and from a desire on the part of the membership to be involved and represented in the decision-making process of a rejuvenated United Nations. The exercise should aim at vesting the Council with

the necessary authority to ensure prompt and effective action. A limited increase in membership could bring in new political perspectives to enhance the Council's authority. It could also ensure that the decision of the Security Council is indeed the representative will of the international community.

6. It could be worthwhile to undertake a possible review of the issue of permanent membership of the Security Council as well as to reflect the important changes in the international situation. This issue should be carefully examined to make sure that the permanent membership reflects a regional balance as well as a balance of varying legitimate interests.

## NETHERLANDS

[Original: English]

[8 July 1993]

1. The end of the cold war has given the Security Council the opportunity, for the first time in its history, to fully discharge its duty under the Charter of the United Nations to foster and maintain international peace and security. That the Security Council is willing and able to function as the heart of a system of collective security is illustrated, among other things, by the fact that over the past five years it has launched as many United Nations peace-keeping operations as it previously had in its entire history.

2. At the same time, the extent to which the current composition of the Security Council adequately reflects the membership of the United Nations as a whole has come into question, not least because of the sharp increase in the membership of the United Nations itself. This question is relevant not only in view of this increase in membership but also, and more especially, in view of the fact that, under Article 24, paragraph 1, of the Charter, the Members of the United Nations agree that, in discharging its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, "the Security Council acts on their behalf". If the Security Council is to operate not only with legal but also with moral authority, the Members of the United Nations must be able to identify with the resolutions of the Council.

3. It is also important that the Security Council be able to operate effectively. Indeed, it is "to ensure prompt and effective action" by the United Nations that the Members have conferred on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, as stated in Article 24, paragraph 1, of the Charter.

4. In view of the fact that, over the past few years, ever more exacting demands have been made on the Security Council, any change in its composition must not be to the detriment of its effectiveness. Any proposed change must be assessed to determine its effect on the work of the Security Council, which must always continue effectively to fulfil its mandate. There is therefore good reason to extend the permanent membership to include important States which are willing and able to assist the Security Council in the political, military and financial sense to discharge its specific responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. The addition of Germany and Japan in due

/...

course would thus seem to be an obvious step. At the same time, the "enemy" clauses in the Charter (Articles 53 and 107) would have to be removed.

5. However, any change to the composition of the Security Council should also serve to create a more accurate reflection of the membership of the United Nations as a whole, in order to underline the global nature of its responsibilities. One possibility would be to give each regional group within the Security Council an extra member, in addition to expanding the number of permanent members. Such a step would make the Council more representative and enhance its legitimacy. One seat in each regional group could be granted an exemption from the rule, set out in Article 23, paragraph 2, of the Charter, that a retiring member may not be immediately re-elected; this would help to reflect the greater influence of some States within the regional groups. It would be up to the regional groups themselves to decide which of their non-permanent members should be granted such an exemption. An amendment to Article 23 of the Charter to this effect might also be considered. The result of such a move would be to create, in effect, semi-permanent members.

6. Aside from the above suggestions for consolidating and strengthening the role of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security, a change in its working practices could bring about more broadly-based decision-making. For instance, under Articles 31 and 32 of the Charter, any State which is not a member of the Security Council may participate in the discussion of any question which affects its interests; this could happen more frequently than is currently the case. In addition, the Security Council could establish "subsidiary organs", as referred to in Article 29, to deal with specific matters; States Members of the United Nations that are not members of the Security Council should be able to participate in such organs. Furthermore, Security Council reports as referred to in Article 24, paragraph 3, could be submitted to the General Assembly more regularly. These suggestions, which would require no change to the Charter, could render decision-making within the Security Council more transparent, which would enable other Members of the United Nations to identify with its decisions.

7. Any change to the composition of the Security Council would require amendment of the Charter. This would require the formal consent of the permanent members and the support of two thirds of the membership of the United Nations as a whole. However, since the amendments would be so far-reaching, and would affect not only the composition of the Security Council but would also have important implications for international relations, they should ideally enjoy the support of as many Members as possible. The debate on this issue has only just begun, and views may change in response to events.

/...

## NEW ZEALAND

[Original: English]

[30 June 1993]

### Introduction

1. New Zealand has been a strong supporter of the United Nations and its institutions since the inception of the Organization in 1945.

2. At San Francisco in 1945 New Zealand gave a firm commitment to the principle of collective security and to the central role of the Security Council in its achievement. Believing in the right of small as well as large States to participate in collective decision-making and the free and equal expression of views, New Zealand argued against veto power being given to the permanent members of the Security Council. It has continued to do so.

3. New Zealand continues to believe, as it said at San Francisco, that permanent membership of the Security Council is a responsibility and privilege that carries with it the requirement to provide leadership and commitment in its fullest sense, for the benefit of the whole United Nations Organization. As a member of the Council today, New Zealand continues to subscribe fully to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to participate in and implement fully the decisions of the Security Council.

4. The important report, the Secretary-General's "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277-S/24111), identifies clearly the changes that have taken place since the United Nations was founded. The world faces new challenges, and problems which have grown more acute even as we celebrate the end of the ideological conflict of the cold war. Now more than ever the United Nations and its Security Council must tackle the threats to international peace and security presented by economic and social inequities as well as problems posed by armed aggression. Collective security issues have become infinitely more complex. We have an obligation to ensure that the Organization's structures measure up to the tasks laid on them.

5. New Zealand followed carefully the debate under agenda item 40 at the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly and believes a number of issues relating to the membership and structure of the Security Council merit further consideration. Ideally, conclusions should be reached on the basis of consensus.

6. As a general principle New Zealand supports the reviewability of the Articles of the Charter relating to the membership and size of the Security Council.

### Size of the Security Council

7. It is important that the Council structure facilitates efficient and effective decision-making. At the same time, the wider interests of the Organization would be better served if the Council's membership better reflected the current membership of the Organization. New Zealand would support a limited

/...

increase in the membership of the Council. It considers that such as increase would not impair the efficiency and effectiveness of the Council.

8. In such increase it is New Zealand's view that there should be an appropriate proportionality between the permanent membership and the non-permanent membership and among the regional groupings. New Zealand would strongly oppose an increase in the number of permanent members that served to alter the balance between permanent and non-permanent members.

### Permanent membership

9. If the membership of the Organization judges it appropriate to increase the permanent membership of the Security Council, New Zealand would support a very small and carefully managed increase. We recognize that any formal definition of criteria for new permanent members would be difficult to achieve. Nevertheless, in our view that basic, though not necessarily only, prerequisites are:

(a) A long established tradition of respect for and adherence to the purposes, principles and obligations of the Charter;

(b) Commitment to an active role in the maintenance of international peace and security and especially a readiness to commit substantial forces to peace-keeping and peace enforcement;

(c) Significant financial contributions to the operations of the United Nations.

10. A question which might be addressed is whether, in addition to these other prerequisites, there should be a financial threshold for permanent membership of the Security Council.

11. New Zealand remains, as it was in 1945, adamantly opposed to the veto. New Zealand will vote against any proposed Charter amendment on additional permanent membership of the Council that includes such a provision. We would support removal of veto rights from the five existing permanent members, or the placing of restrictions on the use of the veto.

12. There are various options that could be considered either in conjunction with an increase in permanent membership of the Security Council or as alternatives which would not require fundamental restructuring. For example, the possibility could be explored of amending Article 23, paragraph 2, of the Charter so that non-permanent members could sit for more than one term on the Council, in succession, if elected to do so.

### Non-permanent membership

13. The membership of the United Nations has grown steadily since 1945 while the membership of the Security Council has increased only once, in 1965. In the interests of equity, New Zealand would support an expansion of the non-permanent membership of the Security Council, bearing in mind the principle of proportionality referred to above. It is our view that the total size of the Security Council should not exceed 21 members.

14. If an expansion of the Council were approved, the actual distribution of seats among regional groups would be a matter for further discussion, taking into account, inter alia, changes in the size and composition of those groups, and in the relationships among member countries.

## Procedural matters

15. The equity and efficiency of the Security Council is also a product of its procedures. In reviewing the membership of the Council it is appropriate that States Members of the United Nations also consider procedural reforms.

16. New Zealand would welcome measures to increase the transparency of the Council's decision-making including, where appropriate, less use of closed informal sessions of the Council. With any expansion of the Council, mechanisms for longer-term planning and consultation within it should be developed that could serve as the basis for the day-to-day examination of issues of immediate concern.

17. Mechanisms for consultation, where appropriate, with States not members of the Council would facilitate the work of the Council. Attention should be directed to ensuring the more effective utilization of the relevant Articles of the Charter, including in particular Articles 31 and 44. One measure, for example, would be improved procedures for drawing on the experience, on a non-selective basis, of troop-contributing States.

18. Every assistance should be given to improving the capacity of the Secretariat to provide the comprehensive information which is vital to the full consideration by the Council of the issues on its agenda, and to ensure its quality, including in peace-keeping mandates and projected costs. Measures could include the greater use of secondments from Member States.

## Conclusion

19. In New Zealand's view the time-frame for Security Council reform should not be subject to unrealistic deadlines which could lead to poorly founded decisions. Neither, however, should the process be deferred nor the immediacy of the issues be ignored.

20. We have entered a phase of history where the Security Council is operating with unprecedented opportunity to play a decisive role in the settlement of conflicts. As it continues to deal with the peace and security concerns of the international system, it is for the States of the United Nations to ensure that the Council's membership is best structured to deal with its vital task.

## NIGERIA

[Original: English]

[30 June 1993]

1. The case for increasing the membership of the Security Council as a means of enhancing the Organization's effectiveness in the discharge of its functions

cannot be overstated. It is our considered view that to continue with the status quo with respect to the Security Council not only perpetuates the Council's representational inequality, but also negates the principle of democracy and universality which the Charter of the United Nations speaks to in several of its articles.

2. It is unsatisfactory, for example, that Africa with 52 Member States out of a total United Nations membership of 183 has no representation on a permanent basis in the Council. The African situation contrasts sharply with that of other regions such as Eastern Europe with 25 Member States and two seats (one of which is permanent); and the Western European and Other States Group, which has 24 Member States but occupies five seats, three of which are permanent.

3. The existing inequity becomes even more apparent when the population statistics of regions, vis-à-vis the strength, or lack of it, of representation in the Security Council, are considered. In this connection, it may be noted that while Africa, Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean States with a combined population of 3.8 billion have only one permanent seat in the Council, Europe (both Eastern and Western) and North America with a combined population of 906 million occupy four out of the existing five permanent seats in the Council.

4. Against this backdrop, there is a compelling need for an expansion of representation in the Security Council to reflect global changes, and especially the current membership of the world body. We suggest not only an increase in permanent membership but also in the non-permanent membership of the Council, by making the following proposals:

(a) First, it is important that the Security Council expansion takes account of the geographical spread of the membership of the world body in a manner which can be perceived by all to be fair and equitable so that the universal character which the Council is supposed to epitomize may indeed be reflected. In other words, all regions of the globe should be represented in the Council on both a permanent and non-permanent basis in a fair and equitable manner;

(b) Secondly, expansion of the Security Council should be conducted in a manner which allows for the inclusion of States which, in terms of regional roles, have evinced a capacity for effectively contributing to the maintenance of international peace and security. Such capacities should be measured not only in terms of sophisticated military and technological resources available to such States, but in terms of a ready disposition on the part of States to utilize such resources in the pursuit of Security Council objectives. We urge, in this connection, that prime consideration be given to States which, in a consistent manner, have supported peace-keeping efforts.

5. Finally, two other factors, namely, economic potentialities and population resources, deserve due consideration in determining which States become permanent members of the Security Council. To the extent that economic performance in some States has led to the current suggestion that certain advanced States be considered for inclusion as permanent members of an expanded Security Council, to that extent also should the real growth and/or potential for viable economic performance in key developing countries be recognized and

/...

utilized in determining which of the developing countries becomes a permanent member of the Council.

6. The population criterion is of great importance; a permanent member of the Security Council must be able in time of emergency to muster the human resources needed to play a credible role in global crisis management and conflict resolution. In addition to this, the Preamble to the Charter adverts to the notion "We the peoples of the United Nations", in which context is subsumed the very idea of peoples as opposed to institutions, Governments and corporate bodies. The concept "We the peoples" encapsulates the notion of peoples, the aggregation of which is the population of the world. For the Security Council to be representative it must sufficiently reflect the population distribution of the world.

7. On the basis of the foregoing Nigeria suggests the expansion of the Security Council to include at least seven additional permanent seats and nine non-permanent seats to be distributed as follows: two permanent seats for Africa, two for Asia, one for Latin America, one for Western Europe and one for Eastern Europe.

8. As to the additional non-permanent seats, the distribution should follow the traditional pattern of allocation of non-permanent seats in the Security Council.

## NORWAY

[Original: English]

[2 July 1993]

1. The Security Council must play a paramount role in the efforts of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security. With the end of the cold war the Council is now in a position to play its proper role as foreseen in the Charter of the United Nations. It is important that the Council remains of a size that allows it to be an efficient mechanism for coordinating the views and actions of States Members of the United Nations.

2. During the past three decades the membership of the United Nations has increased by more than 70 new nations and the world has undergone important changes. It is therefore not unreasonable that the composition and the size of the Security Council are made a subject for discussion.

3. In principle Norway is prepared to accept a limited increase in the membership of the Security Council, with a view to further enhancing the latter's role as the most important executive instrument of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security. Minor adjustments as regards regional representation and permanent seats on the Council are acceptable in this perspective.

4. Any changes should be implemented in a way that does not in any manner diminish the effectiveness of the Council and its work. Changes should also be effected in a way that does not necessitate any major review of the Charter.

/...

5. The relevant regional groups should themselves decide upon the manner in which they would fill any extra regional seats on the Council. Article 23, paragraph 2, of the Charter could be amended, so as to allow for immediate re-elections of outgoing Council members.

6. Any changes in the size and composition of the Security Council should be effected in a way that secures the maximum support possible among the States Members of the United Nations. Norway is prepared to contribute constructively to this debate.

7. New members should be willing and able to participate in the implementation of decisions taken by the Security Council in accordance with the Charter.

## PAKISTAN

[Original: English]

[30 June 1993]

1. The decision of the General Assembly contained in paragraph 1 of its resolution 47/62 of 11 December 1992 to request the Secretary-General to consult Member States on a possible review of the membership of the Security Council was most timely. The Government of Pakistan shares the general desire evident among the membership of the United Nations to strengthen the role of the Security Council as part of the overall endeavour to restructure and reinvigorate the United Nations.

2. Since the establishment of the United Nations, its membership has substantially increased from 52 States to 183 States. This increase in the membership needs to be effectively reflected in the Security Council. Moreover, the change in the geographical composition of Member States, and the larger number of small and medium States, also requires to be particularly reflected in the Council's composition. The present composition of the Council does not reflect these new realities.

3. The Government of Pakistan is of the firm view that any decision in this regard must be in strict conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and based on consensus and agreement among the States Members of the United Nations. In this context, it is most relevant to recall the principled position taken on the issue by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, whose members constitute a majority of the United Nations membership. The heads of State and Government of the non-aligned countries viewed the issue of the review of the membership of the Security Council in the context of measures aimed at further strengthening and democratizing the United Nations.

4. The Government of Pakistan would like to reiterate its determination to engage in a constructive manner in the current process of reform of the United Nations. It is firmly convinced of the need to strengthen and invigorate the United Nations.

## Composition of the Security Council

5. The Government of Pakistan considers that, in consonance with the position of the non-aligned countries, any decision on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council will have to conform to the following criteria:

(a) It should increase the Council's representative character;

(b) It should enhance the Council's ability to discharge its responsibilities under the Charter;

(c) It should promote greater democratization in accordance with the principle of sovereign equality of States;

(d) It should not enlarge the existing inequalities in the rights and privileges of States Members of the United Nations;

(e) It should be compatible with the overall measures to restructure and strengthen the United Nations in various areas;

(f) It should be achieved through consensus and agreement among the States Members of the United Nations.

## General observations

6. The Government of Pakistan recognizes the newly emerging trends in international relations. Nevertheless, the process of democratization and the transparency in the work of the United Nations and its many bodies should avoid perpetuating the current inequities by creating new centres of privilege. It should be pursued in the spirit of sovereign equality of all States. The objective of the present review should be the promotion of a more equitable and balanced representation.

7. The Government of Pakistan considers it pertinent to recall here the following views of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on the subject as contained in the Final Document of the Tenth Conference on Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Jakarta in September 1992:

(a) Paragraph 30 of chapter II of the Final Document (A/47/675-S/24816) states, inter alia: "They [the Heads of State or Government] expressed their determination to participate constructively in the process of adaptation and reform, in the firm conviction that the United Nations is an indispensable forum to be supported and strengthened. Yet, democratization of the international political and economic institutions inherent in such a process continues to be hampered by those who seek to preserve their privileged positions of power. The democratization of the United Nations and its bodies should avoid perpetuating the current inequities by creating new centres of privilege and be pursued in the spirit of the sovereign equality of all States. They appealed to the major States to accept this inevitable process in the broader interests of all humankind."

(b) Paragraph 32 of the same chapter states, inter alia, that "They [the Heads of State or Government] were of the view that the veto powers which guarantee an exclusive and dominant role for the permanent members of the Council are contrary to the aim of democratizing the United Nations and must, therefore, be reviewed in line with the reform of the United Nations aimed at bringing about greater democratization and transparency in the work of all United Nations bodies. They also called for a review of the membership of the Council with a view to reflecting the increased membership of the United Nations and promoting a more equitable and balanced representation of the Members of the United Nations."

8. Finally, careful consideration also needs to be given to measures aimed at bringing about greater transparency in the work of the Security Council, in particular the decision-making process, so as to further involve the general membership with a view to ensuring that the decisions of the Council receive the broadest possible support of all the Member States. On its part, the Government of Pakistan is fully prepared to engage constructively in the present dialogue to review the composition of the Security Council.

## PANAMA

[Original: Spanish]

[30 June 1993]

1. The Republic of Panama welcomed the adoption of resolution 47/62 of 11 December 1992 and the invitation by the Secretary-General to all Member States to express their views on the action referred to in paragraph 1 of the resolution.

2. We believe, first of all, that comments on the issues dealt with in the resolution should not only be very extensive and comprehensive but should also be the result of careful consideration of the scope and implications of those issues. Furthermore, it is essential that any initiatives take account of the principles laid down in the Charter of the United Nations and the purposes for which the Organization was established, in order to ensure that any measures decided on have the genuine support of the entire membership of the United Nations, not just part of the membership.

3. In 1945, the Security Council constituted the machinery devised by the drafters of the Charter in order to avoid future wars and to guarantee that henceforth force would be used solely to serve the common interests of the peoples of the world. Clearly, therefore, action taken by the Security Council will be regarded as legitimate only if the Council's membership is representative of the States Members of the Organization and is the outcome of methods of work giving all Members access to information on the Council's deliberations and decisions.

4. In view of the need to make the Council more representative of the membership of the United Nations, in 1963 the number of Council members was increased to 15. Since then the number of States Members of the Organization has risen from 106 to 183. Just in percentage terms, representativity dropped

from 20 per cent in 1945 to 15 per cent in 1962 and has now dropped to just over 8 per cent. It is therefore obvious that the number of available seats is inadequate, not only in terms of the ratio of seats to Member States but also in terms of the far-reaching political changes that have taken place on the international scene since 1945.

5. Thus, the factors relevant to consideration of the issues under discussion have an impact on matters relating to the membership and representativity of the Council; are linked to the Council's methods of work; and, lastly, call for a review of the interaction of the security organ with regional arrangements and agencies that already exist or may be set up in the future.

6. When the issue of an increase in the number of Council members is considered, account must be taken not only of the need to ensure, as stated in the Charter, "prompt and effective action" by the Council but also of the need for the Council's composition to ensure the sovereign equality of States and appropriate representation and for the Council to act on behalf of all States when taking decisions. Only representation accepted by all will enable the Council to be sure that its decisions will have the necessary moral authority to be effective.

7. The need for representativity therefore means that account must be taken not only of numerical factors but also of such obvious factors as the major political changes that have taken place over the past five years and the presence on the international scene of prominent individuals who should assume in the field of the maintenance of international security the important role they play in other areas of human endeavour.

8. Account must also be taken of the fact that as a result of the ending of colonialism one region of the world has greater representation on the Council than it should, by rights, thus reducing the number of opportunities for other regions of the world to make their voices heard in that forum. In our view, these considerations apply to both permanent and non-permanent members of the Council. In view of the foregoing, any amendment of the Charter must ensure that representation is not only broad but also balanced and equitable.

9. Although we believe that the criteria for membership on the Council set out in Article 23 of the Charter do not need to be amended, it is clear that they must not be interpreted restrictively, but rather in the light of a given country's overall contribution to the world body. A country's military contribution to peace-keeping operations should not be the only yardstick used. We believe this not only because nowadays the situations in question arise with increasing frequency but also because they are not merely of a military nature. The maintenance of international peace and security also has a preventive aspect, which is necessary for peace-building and for setting up the social and administrative structures that are essential to the existence of a modern State. Only a democratic membership will lead to full acceptance of the work of the Council, whose tasks now cover more than just military matters.

10. Although we have no wish to leave aside the important issue of the composition of the Security Council - either as regards the number of members or as regards the type of members - we believe that a comprehensive review of the Council's methods of work is called for in order to ensure that all States

/...

Members have access to its deliberations and decision-making. It is paradoxical, to say the least, that at a time when the Organization is preparing to celebrate its fiftieth anniversary, its principal organ should continue to operate on the basis of "provisional" rules governing its procedures and decision-making. The changes made in this principal organ must therefore increase the transparency of its action and the degree of certainty associated with that action. The methods believed to be the most appropriate for achieving that goal must be debated fully. The debate on this issue must without fail be based on a review of the relationship between the Council and other United Nations organs and of the Council's responsibility vis-à-vis all Member States, as represented in the General Assembly. In particular, it would by no means be illogical to think that more detailed and more frequent reports to the Assembly would help to meet this need. Similarly, it would be very helpful to set up machinery for providing information that would enable Members to obtain information rapidly.

11. An ever-greater number of increasingly complex and diverse issues is now dealt with by the Council. As a result, the effectiveness of the Council's action will also increase if the Council can find ways of increasing the ability of States to settle their disputes by means of bilateral and regional machinery and thus avoid bringing them before the Council. It is therefore of the utmost importance that contacts and cooperation between the Council and regional agencies should be promoted in order to ensure that international disputes are dealt with more rapidly and effectively - without prejudice, of course, to the right of any member to bring a matter before the Council. Use must also be made of the General Assembly and other organs in the multilateral system - particularly the International Court of Justice - according to their powers under the Charter, in debating and solving international problems.

12. To sum up, the issue of the composition of the Security Council must be considered and settled not only on the basis of the Council's structure in numerical terms but also on the basis of the new international situation, the emergence of new prominent individuals on the international scene, the need for the Council to be representative in terms of the current regional and functional groupings within the Organization, and the need to set up new categories of members and forms of participation in the Council's functions that differ qualitatively from the current categories and systems. Furthermore, the Council's action must be made more transparent and democratic and methods of communicating with Member States and with other international agencies and arrangements must be strengthened, in view of the need to lighten the Council's agenda by means of bilateral and regional action.

13. This issue, perhaps more than any other, should fire the imagination and stimulate the generosity of all members of the multilateral system, to the advantage of the most authentic Members of the United Nations - the peoples of the world.

## PARAGUAY

[Original: Spanish]

[28 June 1993]

With reference to General Assembly resolution 47/62 of 11 December 1992 regarding a possible review of the membership of the Security Council, Paraguay is in general agreement with the non-paper prepared by representatives of the Rio Group and with the additional proposals of other countries. Paraguay nevertheless considers it necessary to comment on the following points.

1. Equitable representation. Bearing in mind that the increase in the number of Members of the United Nations is a prime reason for enlarging the membership of the Security Council, we cannot overlook the fact that in the new world order nations have recently been determining their approaches and adopting their decisions as members of blocs. Accordingly, since the Council in discharging its functions is acting on behalf of all Member States, and since the latter generally operates on the basis of consensus agreements arrived at in the regional groups to which they belong, Paraguay considers that the membership of the Security Council should be enlarged on the basis of an equitable regional distribution.

2. Field of action. Paraguay maintains that the Security Council should restrict its activity to what is provided for in the Charter of the United Nations, that is maintaining peace and security in the strict sense of the term, and that the other specialized bodies of the Organization should be strengthened to enable each organ to perform fully its functions within the framework of the Charter.

3. Veto. Since the veto conflicts with democratic principles and the juridical equality of States, Paraguay supports an approach that would explore innovative mechanisms for restricting its use.

4. Procedure. The Security Council should resort to more transparent procedures in adopting its decisions, thereby enabling all members of the Council to participate actively in its work. Paraguay supports the proposal that the Security Council, when submitting its annual report to the Assembly, should provide an analysis with justifications for the decisions taken on every one of the items. Paraguay also believes that it would be highly beneficial for the Council to submit quarterly reports, in addition to its annual report, thereby striving for greater transparency in its action.

5. Relationship between the Council and the Assembly. Paraguay holds that it is of the utmost importance to bring about a better balance between the General Assembly and the Security Council, together with a strengthening of the relationship between them; this should not, however, obstruct either organ in the efficient discharge of its role.

/...

## PERU

[Original: Spanish]

[29 June 1993]

1. The Government of Peru was one of the sponsors of General Assembly resolution 47/62, entitled "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council", and it considers that the Secretary-General's consultations should lead to the adoption of a series of reforms conducive to the revitalization, restructuring and democratization of the United Nations.

2. We believe that the adoption of this resolution is a first step in the complex process towards a recognition of the growing importance of the Security Council, as well as an awareness that the international situation has changed irreversibly and that the Organization must adapt itself to meet future challenges. For Peru, the adoption of the resolution reflected the international community's renewed confidence in the central role of the United Nations as a universal, multilateral forum and its crucial importance during a period of accelerated change.

3. In this process, certain questions regarding representation in the Security Council must be resolved, since the Council's current membership is the product of a specific historical configuration, which resulted in unbalanced decision-making procedures.

4. The measures to be adopted could be summed up as follows:

(a) Negotiations with a view to increasing the number of both the permanent and the non-permanent members of the Security Council should begin as soon as possible. With respect to its permanent members, the Council should accommodate two additional countries which, because of their global importance in the context of contemporary economic and political relations, should assume greater responsibility in the maintenance of international peace and security. With respect to the non-permanent members of the Council, the addition of one member for each developing region would reflect the growth of the Organization and the need to place greater emphasis on the principle of equitable geographic distribution and uphold the principle of the legal equality of States, as well as other principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations;

(b) We are flexible with respect to the possible forms or modalities for joint participation in the light of the growing complexity of the international structure;

(c) While reaffirming the leading role of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security and recognizing that each and every Member should ensure that, "in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf" (Article 24, para. 1, of the Charter), we believe that it is also necessary to recognize the need for a balanced relationship with the General Assembly, a body with universal membership. The same balance of spheres of competence should be maintained with respect to other bodies of the system. This is particularly important since any action undertaken by the Council determines the scope of application of Articles of the Charter with regard to interpretations of a political nature. One way to further this objective would be to end the practice of limiting the Security Council's annual report to the General Assembly to a simple record of items and decisions, and to transform it into a document that analyses and describes the principal issues which shape the international political situation and which are considered by the Council. This document could also contain recommendations in the light of the General Assembly's responsibilities in the area of international peace and security;

(d) Moreover, in order to ensure that daily practice confirms this close relationship, which arises from the mandate of the Security Council as contained in Article 24 of the Charter, the Council should adopt a broad policy of transparency in its activities, and establish clear rules of procedure that would enable member States to take part in its activities and to feel that their basic interests were adequately represented.

5. The following preliminary measures could be considered:

(a) Within the Security Council, a high-ranking member of the Secretariat could be appointed to serve as rapporteur or coordinator. As such, he or she would serve as a focal point, which would ensure a greater flow of information, as well as a feedback mechanism through periodic meetings with the chairmen of the regional groups;

(b) The Council could establish the practice of holding one formal meeting a month, which would deal with substantive issues and review the Council's activities; States that were not members of the Council, and also representatives of regional groups, would be allowed to participate in these meetings.

6. It goes without saying that the whole reform process should be carried out without interfering with the delicate work of the Council, and should take into account the need to maintain and strengthen its effectiveness, although the latter cannot be considered incompatible with an increase in the Council's membership. It is also essential that the Council maintain its collegiate nature and foster a genuine spirit of consensus.

7. Finally, it should be pointed out that, while questions relating to the Council's composition and methods of work can be dealt with immediately, and decisions can be taken in accordance with Article 108 of the Charter, questions relating to the scope of the Council's mandate could be considered in greater detail in the context of the restructuring and revitalization of the Organization, the question of the Agenda for Peace and the future agenda for development and other substantive discussions on the role of the United Nations within the framework of the purposes and principles of the Charter. In this respect, the increase in the membership of the Council should not necessarily entail an increase in its sphere of competence, nor an extension of that sphere of competence through a reinterpretation of the Charter.

/...

## PHILIPPINES

[Original: English]

[2 July 1993]

1. There are a number of reasons necessitating serious reflection on and consideration of the issue of reviewing the membership of the Security Council, particularly in the context of greater democratization and transparency in the work of all United Nations bodies.

2. First, the membership of the United Nations has increased from 52 in 1945 to 183 as of this date.

3. Secondly, the issues on today's global agenda are becoming more interdependent. In this regard, it is now recognized that peace and development issues must be considered in a comprehensive manner, which also takes into account the views of all nations.

4. Thirdly, the end of the cold war has ushered in a new era of international relations characterized by the end of the post-war bipolar alignment and the emergence of a more multipolar balance of interests, including greater involvement of regional arrangements in economic and political matters affecting their region. The post-cold-war era has also encouraged a world-wide process towards democratization and/or self-determination which, unfortunately, has not always been peaceful. This makes international cooperation more imperative than ever before in order to ensure that these processes and changes contribute to international peace and security, and development.

5. These global realities have, in turn, been reflected in differing degrees in the work of the United Nations and its bodies. The General Assembly, for example, is undertaking serious efforts to revitalize itself. The specialized bodies of the Organization are also embarking upon serious reforms - not to mention the Secretary-General's efforts at reforming the United Nations Secretariat so as to conform to the evolving needs of countries and changing priorities of the United Nations. Greater cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations, as well as non-governmental organizations, is also a manifestation of today's realities.

6. The structure of the Security Council, however, does not seem to have been affected by the developments mentioned above. Since 1963, when its size was increased from 11 to 15, its membership and work methods have remained virtually unchanged. It is indeed a paradox that while other United Nations bodies have sought to respond to the global changes and increasing United Nations membership, the United Nations body whose actions have the greatest direct impact on international peace and security has remained immune, structurally speaking, to the new global situation. It remains the least representative and democratic of all the formal United Nations bodies, due principally to its unequal geographic representation and the exercise by its permanent members of the veto privilege.

7. The Philippines would thus welcome a comprehensive exchange of views on Security Council membership, including issues related to the number of members

/...

and permanent seats, the possibility of an enlarged Council, and responsibilities/obligations of members. The work methods of the Council should also be considered in this review, particularly the method of coordination with the General Assembly (including ways to improve the Council's report to the General Assembly) and other key organs of the United Nations. This review should also bear in mind the need to achieve greater democratization and transparency in the work of the Council as well as the United Nations.

8. At the same time, the Philippines recognizes that a thorough review of the Council's membership and the related issues cited above would inevitably have substantive implications on other United Nations activities such as those emanating from other provisions of the Charter, e.g., Chapters IV, VI, VII, VIII and IX. These in turn would have to be assessed. The Philippines therefore believes that in order to ensure that these implications are fully taken into account, the review of the Council's membership should be undertaken in the context of a wider Charter review under Article 109.

## RUSSIAN FEDERATION

[Original: Russian]

[2 July 1993]

1. In the opinion of the Russian Federation, the question of the role of the Security Council should be considered in the framework of the general adaptation of the United Nations to the political, economic, social and other realities of our times.

2. Any further improvement of the functioning of the Security Council should proceed cautiously, without haste. To this end, it is essential to work out, within the Council itself, a coordinated conceptual framework and practical arrangements for preserving and strengthening the Council's role as the central United Nations organ bearing primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

3. The most important condition for any steps that might be taken must be the strengthening of the Security Council's newly acquired energy and operational effectiveness.

4. For us, it is of the utmost importance that the unfolding discussion on the future of the Security Council should not become the source of political friction and confrontation: with the large number of conflicts in the world and the involvement of the United Nations in their settlement, the Organization cannot afford to engage in an overhaul of machinery which not only is not broken but is in fact in good working order, with the risk of paralysis that that entails.

5. Our action must therefore be based on the substance of the United Nations Charter, according to which, in the composition of the Security Council, due regard is paid in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization.

6. Bearing in mind the real need for the Security Council to base its decisions more broadly on the views of the members of the world community, we consider that already at this stage the following specific measures could be considered on the basis of the Charter, with a view to exhausting all the possibilities provided for in that international legal instrument whose versatility and scope are unique:

(a) Participation by the representatives of regional organizations in meetings of the Security Council devoted to a consideration of the problems of their regions;

(b) Standing committees of the Security Council could be established (see Article 29 of the Charter), whose functions could include the informal study of questions and the preparation of recommendations to the Council regarding United Nations involvement in the settlement of crisis situations;

(c) There could be discussions about the establishment of a headquarters for United Nations peace-keeping operations;

(d) Interaction between the Security Council and the General Assembly could be improved in various ways, including the revitalization of the General Assembly's role in such areas of safeguarding security as the protection of human rights and the strengthening of democracy.

7. The Russian Federation will cooperate constructively with the members of the Council and with all interested States in work on all questions, provided that any steps taken in this field are gradual and decided on by consensus, after general agreement has been reached in the Council and universally acceptable criteria have been worked out.

## SPAIN

[Original: Spanish]

[30 June 1993]

### I. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

1. Fundamental changes have occurred on the international scene since the convening of the San Francisco Conference and the establishment of the United Nations at the end of the Second World War.

2. As a result of the decolonization process which began during the 1960s and the recent establishment of newly independent States, the number of members of the international community has increased very substantially. This growth has been reflected in the steady increase in the number of States Members of the United Nations (the number rose from 51 States in 1945 to 113 in 1963, and to 183 in 1993). The Organization today has more than three times the number of Member States it had 50 years ago. Furthermore, new actors have appeared on the international scene while the role of others has increased, a reflection of their particular importance, with the result that their influence on international relations is considerable.

/...

3. The contemporary world, which is very different from the world during the early days of the United Nations, is characterized by the disappearance of bipolarity and of traditional ideological barriers, as well as by increasing interdependence and the rapid acceleration of means of transport and communications. Following the end of the cold war, new and very complex types of conflicts have emerged within States, posing a clear threat to international peace and security and a challenge to the capacity of the United Nations to act.

4. The Security Council, which for decades was largely obstructed by the actions of its permanent members - 280 vetoes were cast - has recently regained its capacity to take decisions in exercise of its primary responsibility to guarantee the maintenance of international peace and security. This is demonstrated by the increasing number and importance of resolutions adopted by the Council, and it is therefore more necessary than ever to provide the Council with the necessary means to ensure that its decisions are effective and properly carried out.

5. In light of the foregoing, the Spanish Government believes that it is necessary and timely, on the eve of the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, to pursue the process of revitalizing and restructuring its organs, in particular the Security Council, with a view to making it more representative and ensuring that it is able to act both promptly and effectively, as called for in Article 24 of the Charter of the United Nations.

## II. BASIC CRITERIA

6. The following basic criteria should be borne in mind when considering the possible review of the membership of the Security Council:

(a) Representative nature: The membership of the Security Council, which acts on behalf of all Members of the Organization (Article 24 of the Charter), must properly reflect the increased number and diversity of Member States. This would enhance the legitimacy of its actions and encourage compliance with all decisions adopted on the crucial subject of the maintenance of international peace and security.

(b) Effectiveness: The renunciation by States of the use of force, and even the exception envisaged in Article 51 of the Charter, require that the Council be able to act promptly and effectively. This effectiveness should be guaranteed not only through the prompt adoption of timely decisions, but also - and this is particularly important - by ensuring that such decisions are implemented and complied with fully, promptly and without distinction. Only thus will the prestige and authority of the Council be guaranteed.

## III. MEMBERSHIP

7. With the foregoing in mind, it would be timely for all Member States to consider the desirability of reviewing the membership of the Security Council, in order to make it more representative and effective. To that end, the criteria for membership in the Council established in Article 23, paragraph 1, of the Charter remain fully valid, and particular emphasis should be placed,

/...

first of all, on the contribution of Member States to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, as well as on equitable geographical distribution. Due care must be taken to ensure that a proper balance is maintained between the two elements.

8. The membership of the Council also should take fully into account the presence on the international scene of various actors with substantial influence at the global or regional level and the capacity to make significant contributions to peace-keeping operations or collective actions authorized by the Council. The objective of the review should be to ensure equitable distribution not only in the allocation of non-permanent seats, but also in the membership of the Council as a whole.

## IV. POSSIBLE REFORMS

9. (a) Increased membership: The membership of the Security Council should be increased moderately to take into account, in particular, the fact that since the last enlargement of the Security Council, in 1963, 70 new States have joined the United Nations, and that this number is likely to continue increasing.

(b) The creation of new categories should be considered, to enable certain States which play an important role in international relations and have the capacity and willingness to make a significant contribution to the purposes of the Organization to be included as members of the Council. Accordingly, we would envisage a limited increase in the number of permanent members, which would not be entitled to cast a veto. Consideration also should be given to the creation of a new category that would permit more frequent membership in the Council of certain States in accordance with objective criteria based on the principles established in Article 23 of the Charter. In addition to reflecting the new realities on the international scene, the presence of such States on the Council would prompt them to assume obligations to contribute substantially to the conduct of the Council's work. In addition to enlarging the membership, such a step also would provide a counterweight to the actions of the permanent members. In any event, the selection criteria for access to these categories should guarantee balanced geographical distribution and, on a rotating basis, should include certain States of particular importance within their respective regional groups.

## V. PROCEDURES

10. For obvious reasons, the possible review of the membership of the Security Council must not proceed hastily, but rather, should take the form of an ongoing process of dialogue and exchange of ideas and proposals to ensure the required consensus among the regional groups and secure the agreement of the permanent members.

11. The process should in due course result in the elaboration of a draft resolution of the General Assembly and amendments which ultimately would be submitted for ratification by the Members of the United Nations, in accordance with the provisions of Article 108 of the Charter.

12. Spain will participate in a constructive dialogue with other States Members of the Organization in order to define the preliminary ideas advanced in this document in more specific terms at a later stage. In so doing, it also will keep the views of other States very much in mind, in particular those expressed by the other States members of the European Community.

## SURINAME

[Original: English]

[6 July 1993]

1. The Government of the Republic of Suriname is of the view that the process of revitalizing and restructuring the United Nations has to be expanded to include also one of its most important organs, the Security Council.

2. The membership of the Security Council must reflect the increase in the membership of the United Nations. The Council should resemble contemporary international developments in its composition and structure.

3. Its composition should be based on equitable geographical representation, while its operating structure, following the upsurge of democracy in the world, must be more transparent and democratic.

4. The Government of the Republic of Suriname holds the view that States Members of the United Nations must be engaged in comprehensive negotiations and formulate concrete proposals aimed at increasing both permanent and non-permanent members of the Council.

5. Consensus must be reached on the criteria to be used for the determination of the number of additional seats, as well as how to arrive at a more balanced regional representation in the Council.

## SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

[Original: Arabic]

[30 June 1993]

The Syrian Arab Republic is of the view that the changes that have taken place in the international arena and the appreciable increase in the number of States Members of the United Nations necessitate a re-examination of the structure of the Organization, and in particular of the Security Council, in order to strengthen the democratic character and transparency required of its membership and of the process for the adoption and implementation of its resolutions by expanding the pool of participants in decision-making, making that process more fair and balanced and ensuring the implementation of the Council's resolutions without partiality or the use of double standards, so that the Council may enjoy a credibility that will render it capable of meeting its responsibilities under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security.

/...

## TURKEY

[Original: English]

[28 June 1993]

### Introduction

1. The framework and substance of international relations have gone through profound changes during the past few years. The cold war has come to an end. The international landscape is no longer characterized by ideological confrontation. These changes have brought about opportunities as well as challenges. New centres of power have emerged. There is now a new basis for cooperative action at the international level. This international environment requires a fresh approach to the Security Council and a re-examination of its role.

2. The end of the cold war freed the Security Council from the political constraints and enabled it to assume a vastly expanded role. The prestige and credibility of the United Nations depend on the success of the Council, which has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. to meet the challenges ahead, the moral authority and effectiveness of the Security Council should be reinforced. This would require that the Council become more representative. At the same time, its working methods should be reviewed to reflect the new political and economic realities of the world.

### General considerations

3. At its creation in 1945, the United Nations had 51 Members and the Security Council had 11 seats. The provisions of the United Nations Charter on the composition and voting procedure of the Security Council were formally amended only once, in December 1963, when the membership of the United Nations was 113, and the number of the Security Council members was raised from 11 to 15. Today, the number of the States Members of the United Nations has risen to 183. This dramatic growth in the membership and the greater changes that have occurred in the balance of political and economic power in the world call for the reconsideration of the composition of the Security Council. In this connection, the discussions on the question of equitable representation and the focus on the increase in its membership are very timely and should lead to an early restructuring of the Council.

### Composition and restructuring

4. Turkey holds the view that an enlargement of the Security Council will enhance its effectiveness in carrying out its expanded role, and especially in discharging its responsibilities in the field of preventive diplomacy.

5. Turkey agrees that any change must take into account the overriding necessity of preserving the Security Council's ability to act quickly in major crises. A Security Council that is more representative would have more authority and consequently greater effectiveness to do so. However, a workable Security Council would also imply that its membership is not expanded beyond a

/...

certain level. Turkey believes that a Security Council with as many as 30 members could meet these requirements.

6. Together with the enlargement, serious consideration should also be given to the creation of a new category of seats in the Security Council, as a means of enhancing its efficiency. This new category, comprising what could be qualified as semi-permanent seats, would rotate among a specific number of States to be designated according to objective criteria.

7. With these considerations in mind and leaving aside the permanent seats in the Council as an issue which should be addressed in a different framework, the following could be proposed for the structure and the composition of an enlarged Security Council:

(a) Raising the number of non-permanent seats from 10 to 15;

(b) Creating 10 new seats to be rotated among a specific number of States which would be designated according to the following criteria:

(i) Population;

(ii) Geopolitical situation;

(iii) Military capacity;

(iv) Economic potential;

(v) History of working within the Charter;

(vi) Record of contributions to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization;

(vii) Equitable geographical distribution.

8. In 1945, the ratio of Security Council members to United Nations Members was 1:5. Today, it stands at 1:12. A Security Council composed of 30 members would establish this ratio at 1:6 and make the Council more representative, responsive, transparent and accountable. The enhancement of the representative character of the Council is actually a tacit requirement inherent in the spirit of Article 24 of the Charter, which stipulates that the Security Council, in carrying out its duties, acts on behalf of all Member States. Indeed, democratization of the Council's structure would be a further encouragement for the Member States to participate more actively in the Council's work and would strengthen the moral ground for the implementation of its resolutions.

## Geographical representation

9. The creation of a new category of membership as indicated in paragraph 7 (b) above would introduce a new concept of constituency in the distribution of seats in the Council. Within this context, it could be envisaged that half of these semi-permanent seats rotate among 10, and the other half among 15 States. This would mean the creation of five constituencies grouping two States, and five constituencies grouping three States.

10. On the other hand, the extension of this concept of separate constituencies to the distribution of all elective seats seem worth considering. Designation of separate constituencies representing more or less equal potential and means, as well as a common determination to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, for each elective seat, could further enhance the representative character of the Council and ensure more equitable geographical distribution.

## Functioning and working methods

11. The Council's current method of work relies heavily on the five permanent members and on closed informal consultations. Procedures should be devised to render this system more transparent for the benefit of non-members. All parties directly involved in a dispute of which the Security Council is seized, including non-member States, should be invited to take part in the consultations. Turkey believes that more openness in its activities would increase the credibility of the Council.

12. Closed meetings are inconsistent with the spirit of Article 24 of the Charter. The Security Council should hold more frequent public meetings to allow non-members to participate in debate, in matters of interest to them.

## Conclusion

13. Enjoying special relations with as diverse regions as the Balkans, the Black Sea basin, the Caucasus, Central Asia, the Middle East and the Mediterranean and being a European country located at the prolongation of Asia, Turkey feels deeply concerned by the evolution of the international environment and considers that the future of the international system lies in the reinforcement of the rule of law and the principles of democracy. The international community should not passively witness change but must have the will to form adequate mechanisms to control its direction. The existing international climate provides the necessary basis for cooperative action to this end.

14. The restructuring of the Security Council with a view to reflecting the changed international situation and the substantial increase in the membership of the United Nations while at the same time ensuring a balanced geographical representation will contribute to the strengthening of the moral authority, legitimacy, credibility and transparency of the Council. It is in line with this reasoning that Turkey strongly endorses the call by the Secretary-General in his statement on 16 March 1993 in Boston while receiving the Christian Herter Award from the Boston World Affairs Council: "The time has come to fulfil the logic of the Charter and pursue not only democratization within States, but democratization throughout the international system ... It also means applying the principles of democratization within the United Nations itself, a goal to which I am committed."

/...

## UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND

[Original: English]

[30 June 1993]

1. The Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland joined with all other Member States in adopting, on 11 December 1992, General Assembly resolution 47/62 on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council. The Secretary-General, as required in that resolution, has invited Member States to submit written comments on a possible review of the membership of the Security Council. The "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council" will be included in the provisional agenda of the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly, and the United Kingdom looks forward to the compilation of Member States' views which the Secretary-General was requested, in Assembly resolution 47/62, to submit in the form of a report to the forty-eighth session.

2. The United Kingdom recognizes that the increase in United Nations membership has understandably raised the question of increasing the membership of the Security Council, including the question of increasing the permanent membership of the Council.

3. The changes which have taken place in the international situation in the past few years have for the first time enabled the Security Council to operate effectively as a collegiate body. As a result, the United Nations has begun to play the role envisaged for it at its establishment as the primary means of resolving regional and other conflicts. It has assumed the position the founding fathers intended for it at the centre of world affairs.

4. With the changes which have taken place in the international situation has come a great increase in the demands placed upon the Security Council. The Council has responded rapidly to these.

5. Last year more than 70 Security Council resolutions were adopted, over 10 per cent of all such resolutions adopted in the United Nations previous 46 years: United Nations peace-keeping forces authorized by the Council rose from approximately 12,000 deployed at the beginning of the year to nearly 60,000 deployed or authorized for deployment at the end of it.

6. In the past few years the Security Council, in exercise of its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and working with an unprecedented degree of consensus, has responded to challenges in Kuwait, Namibia, Somalia, Cambodia, the former Yugoslavia and many other parts of the world. States are increasingly turning to the Security Council for assistance. They need a Council which remains able to respond rapidly and effectively.

7. Present arrangements allow for the equitable representation of States from all regions working with permanent members able to assume global responsibilities. This is not an argument against change and the United Kingdom believes that success should be built upon. At the same time it is crucial that

/...

neither a protracted debate on enlargement, nor precipitate action, should be allowed to diminish the Council's effectiveness. The first priority must be to safeguard the effective operation of the Council, and its ability to fulfil its primary responsibility under the United Nations Charter, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security.

8. For its part, the United Kingdom welcomes debate on this subject and intends to play a full and constructive part in such debate.

## UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

[Original: English]

[30 June 1993]

1. The United States Government welcomed the adoption of General Assembly resolution 47/62 on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council. We also welcomed the discussion initiated by the resolution's invitation to Members to provide to the Secretary-General comments on the issue, and to the Secretary-General thereafter to report on these comments.

2. We believe that the revitalization of certain organs of the United Nations should be a continuing process directed at preserving their capacity and effectiveness in view of changing circumstances. The effectiveness of the Security council, while imperfect, has never been greater. Indeed, for the first time in the history of the United Nations, the Council is beginning to fulfil the role envisioned for it by the Charter of the United Nations. As recognized in resolution 47/62, this role is increasingly crucial in the maintenance of international peace and security.

3. In exercising this role the Security Council has endeavoured to address the vital peace and security needs of the entire world community. Therefore, it is a matter of great importance to all Members of the United Nations not to impede this effort by changing the Council's composition in ways that undermine its effectiveness.

4. The United States believes that the composition of the Security Council should continue to reflect the intent of the Charter as well as political, economic and security realities. Guided by these principles, we are willing to consider changes to the Council which enhance its representative character while reinforcing its capacity and effectiveness.

5. These considerations lead the United States to draw several conclusions regarding the question of possible changes in Security Council membership:

(a) First, the current permanent members of the Council are countries with global political and economic influence and a capacity as well as a will to contribute to global peace and security through peace-keeping and other activities. Their status on the Council should remain unaltered;

(b) Second, the United States supports permanent membership for Japan and Germany as well, fully recognizing that permanent membership entails assuming an active role in global peace and security activities. We are also prepared to consider carefully how the Council might be further expanded to include a modest number of additional seats.

6. In addition, there is also a need to explore means, other than expanding the membership of the Security Council, to improve the ability of the Council to cope with its growing workload and to broaden and regularize the opportunity for non-members to contribute to its work. The creation of one or more subsidiary bodies of the Security Council pursuant to Article 29 of the Charter is a possibility worthy of consideration, as is the strengthening of cooperation between the Security Council and the General Assembly and between the Council and regional organizations.

## VIET NAM

[Original: English]

[30 June 1993]

1. World developments over the past years have made the demand for the democratization of international life and international relations, including the democratization of multilateral organizations and forums, ever more imperative. The United Nations is assuming an increasingly important role in international life. The new international situation and new role of the United Nations require an urgent reform and democratization of this largest multilateral organization, especially its Security Council, which is entrusted with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

2. Viet Nam endorses the idea of re-examining and enlarging the composition of the Security Council. In view of the increase in the membership of the United Nations from 51 to over 180, an increase in the Security Council's membership represents a natural must with a view to bringing about a more equitable representation. At the same time, redressing the imbalance in regional representation in the Council's permanent membership constitutes an objective demand. The re-examination and reform of the composition of the Security Council this time must be aimed at producing not only an increase in its membership but also a substantive change in order to ensure respect for the principles of equal sovereignty, of democracy and transparency in its decision-making, and bringing about a more balanced and rational relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly.

3. Viet Nam holds the view that, in enlarging the composition of the Security Council, due attention must be rendered to the concerns of developing countries, with a view to ensuring that the voice of the majority be adequately heard when the Council decides on the settlement of issues of importance to the international community.

4. The reform and democratization of the United Nations in general, and of the Security Council in particular, represents a necessary process to make this world body a really effective multilateral tool for safeguarding and maintaining

international peace and security, contributing to the building of a sounder and more equitable world order.

## YUGOSLAVIA

[Original: English]

[15 June 1993]

1. Maintenance of international peace and security is one of the basic goals of the United Nations. In order to ensure rapid and effective action of the United Nations, the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and stability is entrusted to the Security Council. Its role is of exceptional importance, particularly now when the activities within peacemaking and peace-keeping operations throughout the world are assuming new forms and becoming ever more diverse in their form and content.

2. In performing its duties, the Security Council is bound to observe the Charter of the United Nations and the principles enshrined in it.

3. In the light of the recent changes in international relations, the United Nations should be an adequate forum where broad cooperation and democratic dialogue among countries are realized. The reform to be carried out within the world Organization with this aim in mind should necessarily take into account new realities on the international scene, along with the maintaining of the necessary balance between the main United Nations bodies, in accordance with the mandate provided for by the Charter of the Organization.

4. Efforts to improve the functioning of some bodies and procedures in the United Nations should be aimed at strengthening multilateralism, along with more balanced representation and strict and more determined respect for the Charter.

5. In maintaining international peace and security, interests of all countries, which should be equally treated in the implementation of these principles, should be taken into consideration.

6. Militarily and economically powerful countries should not be allowed to use, in pursuit of their own interests, the Security Council as a vehicle for imposition of their own will and interests on other countries. Therefore, it is necessary to ensure that the use of special rights does not lead to a discriminatory approach to certain Members of the United Nations, i.e., that a situation is not created in which a small group of powerful countries may dominate the international scene.

7. The credibility and moral authority of the Security Council can be preserved and strengthened only by those activities which are timely, impartial and in the interest of all countries, through the implementation of its resolutions without discrimination or a selective approach and double standards and with full respect for the principles of sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of Member States.

8. Imposition of will and interests is, in principle, contrary to the principles enshrined in the Charter since it creates precedents which, violating its principles, have an adverse impact on the significance and role of the United Nations and are therefore detrimental to its reputation.

9. The principles of the Charter, international law, non-alignment and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe are an integrated form of a code of conduct of the international community which must be observed if peace, security and stability in the world are to be preserved.

10. In the democratization of the United Nations, the existing inequalities should be replaced by new centres of power, i.e., the sovereign equality of all countries and collective interests of the global community must be respected.

11. It is evident that the present number of the Security Council member States should be revised in order to ensure adequate representation of all regions.

12. In the absence of East-West confrontation, the ratio of forces within the Security Council, particularly from the aspect of the right of veto of the five permanent members, deserves detailed examination and revision.

13. In the conditions of the increasing democratization in the international community, it is questionable whether the right of veto is a democratic right or a right of the mighty and powerful to impose solutions or make certain solutions contingent on the realization of their interests while these solutions should be based on the principles enshrined in the Charter.

14. The membership of the Security Council should certainly be increased by the addition of new members and, in the spirit of new trends on the international scene, the right of veto should be abolished, and as strict implementation of the principle of universality as possible should be ensured, not only among the membership of the United Nations but also in the process of decision-making, where democratic principles would be fully reflected.

-----